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R. H. Lowie
E. W. Gifford
D. G. Mandelbaum
R. L. Olson

[p. i]

PROPERTY

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# THE TUKUNA

BY

CURT NIMUENDAJÚ

*Edited by*

ROBERT H. LOWIE

*Translated by*

WILLIAM D. HOHENTHAL

[Title Page-2]

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# PREFACE

114 IN 1935 the late Snr. Curt Nimuendajú (who died on December 10, 1945, among the Tukuna Indians) began ethnographic researches on behalf of the Department of Anthropology. The work was financed mainly by the Institute of Social Sciences [122] of the University of California, and in part by the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. So far, three major monographs have appeared as a result of these investigations: The Eastern Timbira (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 41, Berkeley, 1946); The Apinayé (The Catholic University of America, Anthropological Series, No. 8, Washington, D.C., 1939); and The Serénte (Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, Vol. 4, Los Angeles, 1942). In addition, there are a series of provisional reports antedating complete presentation of the facts, and some minor papers, notably Social Organization and Beliefs of the Botocudo of Eastern Brazil (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 2:93–115, 1946). These were translated by the editor from the author's German manuscripts, at times revised on details on the basis of years of correspondence between author and translator.

121 114 In 1941 and 1942, Nimuendajú, who had spent fifteen days among the Tukuna in 1929, paid them a second and a third visit of six and five months' duration, respectively; the present treatise embodies the results. However, during World War II a regulation of the Brazilian government prohibited the use of the German language in correspondence, so that Nimuendajú was obliged to write to me in Portuguese, and I to him in English. Since the law extended even to monographs, the paper herewith presented was likewise composed in Portuguese. Its translation was accordingly entrusted to Mr. William D. Hohenthal, who not only lived in Brazil when he was a boy and received part of his education there, but was attached to the Brazilian army as an infantry instructor on loan from the United States Army, 1945–1947, and is married to a Brazilian lady. As a graduate student in anthropology, he also understands the ethnographic technicalities that sometimes baffle a layman no matter how familiar he is with the language from which he translates. Apart from providing a most conscientious rendering of Nimuendajú's meaning, Mr. Hohenthal has taken endless pains in compiling a glossary of Brazilian terms and checking the identification of botanical and zoölogical species.

The present is the last major contribution of Nimuendajú in the editor's possession. Several lesser reports in German on the Northern Kayapó and some other groups are designed for publication in periodical journals.

ROBERT H. LOWIE

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# EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS AND DIACRITICS USED IN TUKUNA WORDS

ē very open, between e and a
e very close, between e and i
ɔ between a and o
ʊ between u and o
č Spanish ch
ṅ nasal velar stop

The terminology in the list above explains the orthography used in Tukuna words. In addition, superior "n" indicates nasalization; a short hook below a vowel designates it as postpalatal; an acute accent marks the tonal accent; a colon following a vowel means a lengthened vowel. Certain other symbols, used rarely in the paper (i.e., the solidus or slant), are not explained in the original manuscript.

[P. IX contains no Text]

# I. INTRODUCTION

## TRIBAL NAME

101 [114] THE TRIBAL NAME has two versions: Tikuna (Tekuna) or Tukuna (Tokuna). Of the earlier writers, Padre Samuel Fritz (1691), Ribeiro de Sampaio (1774), Spix and Martius (1819), and Ayres de Cazal (1831) use the first forms; Acuña (1639), Berredo (1718), and José de Moraes Torres (1759) use the second; Monteiro Noronha (1768) uses both. Apparently, only the first version is used in Peru; in Brazil, however, both forms are in vogue, and it is noteworthy that some travelers (Herndon and Gibbon, 1853; Orton, 1875) employ the term Tikuna in Peru and Tukuna in Brazil.

101 114 The Kayuišána, neighbors of these Indians, call them Tukuna, the form that Koch-Grünberg heard among the Indians of the Rio Apaporis. According to Tessmann, the Tukuna do not have a name for the entire tribe. He quotes Veigl, who says that, although they speak a common language, they regard the tribe as being made up of different nations; this error on Veigl's part may be attributed to the Tukuna use of the Portuguese word "nacão" in referring to their clans.

[198] In this lingua franca spoken by the Indians, Tikuna is the most common version; this statement holds true for Brazil as well as for Peru. However, in their own language the Indians of the tribe employ exclusively the form Tukuna, or Tᴜkuna, the first ᴜ having a high intonation and a light tonal accent: Tu:'ku:na. I have verified this pronunciation many times and with Indians of different localities.

According to Veigl,[1] the Portuguese called the Tukuna "chumana"—a gross error, since the two tribes are clearly distinct.

## PHYSICAL TYPE

141 The Tukuna are of average stature. According to Barbosa Rodrígues, the mean height of six men and six women measured in Tonantins was 149 centimeters and 145 centimeters, respectively,[2] figures which very probably are not accurate.

142 The skin is quite dark. The features of the face are in general coarse, the supraorbital ridges and the cheekbones pronounced. The nose is thick and prominent, the upper jaw strongly developed—not owing to the thickness of the lips but to true prognathism, which becomes immediately apparent when the mouth is agape so that all the teeth are visible. In some exaggerated cases this form of mouth produces an almost Negroid aspect, as Herndon noted among the neighboring Marubo of the Solimões.[3] However, I do not believe that this should be attributed to intermixture.

The iris is dark brown. The eyelid opening is either narrow or medium; the inclination is generally horizontal, with a few cases of obliquity.

During childhood the smooth, thick, black hair is somewhat reddish. Wavy hair is found only in individuals who show other evidences of mixed descent. The eyebrows are normal or scanty; the beard, if it appears at all, is sparse, even at a mature age. I knew of only two adult Tukuna with normal moustaches. The pubic hair is always scanty. 142

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[1] Quoted in Tessmann, Die Indianer Nordost-Perús, p. 559; see also Martius, Beiträge zur Ethnographie u. Sprachenkunde, 2:443–483.

[2] Barbosa Rodrígues, Tribu dos Ticunas, p. 52.

[3] Herndon and Gibbon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon, 1:243.

Signs of racial intermixture are visible in 20 per cent, more or less, of the members of the tribe—a small percentage, considering that the Tukuna have lived in peaceful contact with civilized persons for two and a half centuries. Evidently the rigid tribal organization into exogamic moieties has prevented unbridled promiscuity. 144

*Defects and diseases.*—Serious physical defects of a pathological nature are infrequent. When I inquired about the fate of children born deformed, no one could remember a particular instance. Deformation of the teeth by caries is frequent. Some cases of unilateral blindness the Indians attributed to measles. 732 164

Strangely high (2 per cent?) is the incidence of hearing defects, although I have never seen an Indian completely deaf. Defective hearing appears to be hereditary, being more frequent in certain families. [143]

The most damaging diseases are those introduced by the Neobrazilians. Smallpox has ravaged the tribe on various occasions. The first epidemic, which decimated the Omágua in 1649, probably reached the Tukuna as well. Also highly devastating was the smallpox epidemic of 1870, which spread from returning soldiers of the Paraguayan war and almost depopulated certain *igarapés,*[1] such as the Igarapé da Rita. [731]

Formerly there was apparently no malaria or intermittent fever (*impaludismo*) in these tributaries of the Solimões, in spite of the enormous quantities of mosquitoes. But many Tukuna who were taken by their masters to the Javary and Jandiatuba rivers died of this affliction, and others brought it back to the igarapés.

Influenza, catarrh, and other respiratory diseases are frequent but cause less damage among the Tukuna than among the other tribes.

The presence of intestinal worms among these Indians is less common than among the Neobrazilians. There are no venereal diseases, except perhaps among some emancipated families living in promiscuity with the Neobrazilians.

An endemic disease among the Tukuna, which, however, disfigures more than it incommodes, is the *purú-purú,*[2] a skin ailment that results in great irregular patches of a dark bluish color which eventually turns achromatic.

## TERRITORY

Formerly the territory of the tribe comprised the jungle centers off the left bank of the Amazon-Solimões from 71° 15′ (Ilha Peruaté) to 68° 40′ W. longitude; its tributaries, the Atacuari, Loretoyacu, Mariuaçú, Tacana, Belém, Cajary, São Jeronymo, and Rita, and the upper course of the drainage which empties into the Putumayo-Içá—the Yahuas, Cotuhé, Poreté, and Jacurapá. 131

The Tukuna did not then inhabit the banks of the Amazon-Solimões, for fear of the Omágua, who occupied the islands of that river throughout its course in 131 101

---

[1] Terms explained in the Glossary (p. 159) and native words in common use are italicized on their first appearance. Tukuna words are given in a simplified form of Nimuendajú's orthography, which is apparently a normalized phonetic transcription. The following abbreviations are used: P., Portuguese; T., Tukuna; l.g., lingua geral.

[2] *Pinta* or *mal del pinto*, caused by Spirochaeta pintae. In Brazil there are three varieties, called, according to the color of the blotches, "white," "red," and "black." Mexico, *mal del pinto;* Colombia, *carate;* Honduras, *cativi.*—Trans.

131 Tukuna territory and even far beyond, while the banks of the Putumayo-Içá were
101 held by Aruak tribes—the Mariaté, Yumána, and Pasé. To the west they had for
neighbors the Yáhua and the Péba. Today this former Tukuna territory is divided
among Peru, Colombia, and Brazil.

As the Indians of all these neighboring tribes (with the exception of the Yáhua) became fewer or finally disappeared, the Tukuna began to spread out along both banks and on the islands of the Solimões, where many of them live today, as well as on the lakes and tributaries of the right bank. Similarly, they have settled near the Paraná, on the Camatía and along the lower Jandiatuba. Some of their settlements are on the lower Içá, but representatives of the tribe have appeared most recently on the Auatí-paraná, at approximately 66° 30′ W. longitude. The region of the lower Javary, where they were encountered in the past century, they have since abandoned, and likewise they have abandoned the Poreté region.

The entire Tukuna country is part of the Amazon basin, and in the whole region
133 there is not—in the Brazilian part, at least—even one elevation that merits the
name of *serra*, nor can any stones be found except a few gravel beds in the upper
courses of the igarapés. Lakes and lacustrine topography are found only in the
marginal region of the Solimões and in the lower courses of the igarapés. The
jungle centers are firm ground. At some points this solid ground extends to the
banks of the Solimões, where it forms enormous bluffs twenty-five meters high or
more, which are very apt to crumble, especially in times of excessive runoff, and
this causes the inhabitants great inconvenience.

During the summer the low riverbanks are bordered with mud beaches. In the winter they are covered with water and become lacustrine zones, with lakes and sinks in some places more than a league[*] in width. Few of the numerous islands offer a place of shelter from the regular floods; most of them are inundated in the winter to the point of being uninhabitable. These islands with their low banks are also subject to the effects of erosion and inundation to a prodigious degree, the topography sometimes being completely altered within a few years.

The climate is hot and humid, and one feels the lack of ventilation in the jungle.
132 Annually in June and July there are sudden very marked cold spells, accompanied
by strong winds from the southeast (not the southwest!) and by fine rains which
last from one to three days.

The year is divided into a rainy winter and a dry summer. The Solimões floods
133 regularly; beginning to rise in December it reaches its highest point (12 m. above
the dry level) in March, April, and May, diminishing gradually in June and July.
The months of August, September, October, and November witness the drying up
of streams, so that the upper courses of the igarapés become unnavigable. However,
there are frequently major departures from this pattern.

The virgin Amazonian jungle covers this region throughout. Only at the head-
137 waters of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo are there elevated spots with sandy soil
[134] and low vegetation. The jungle itself is rich in vegetable products, of which only
timber and rubber are now being exploited.

A few decades ago the region was extremely rich in game, but the rise in price
136 of leather rapidly caused the near extermination of such mammals as the tapir

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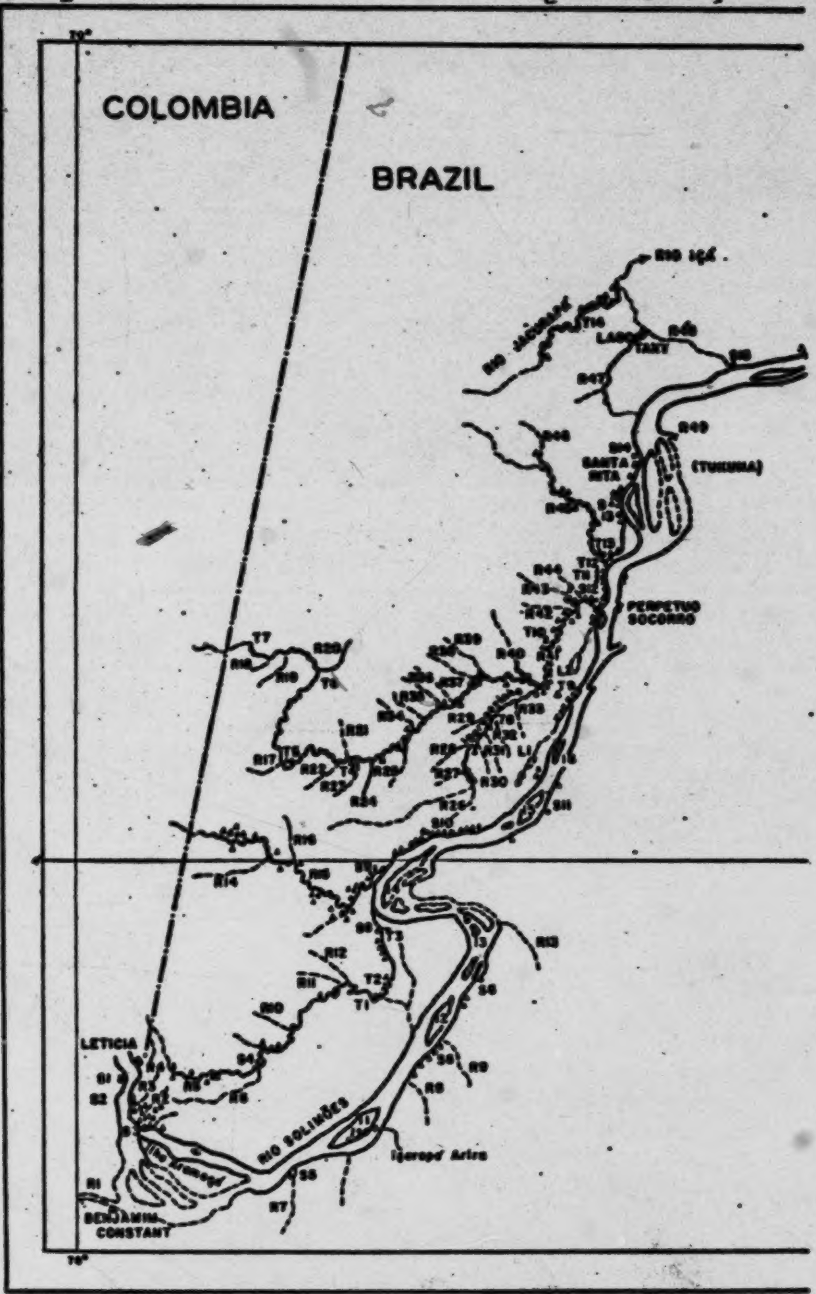
[*] The Portuguese league equals 6 kilometers.

[Text continues on page 8]

[P.5]

[Section A]

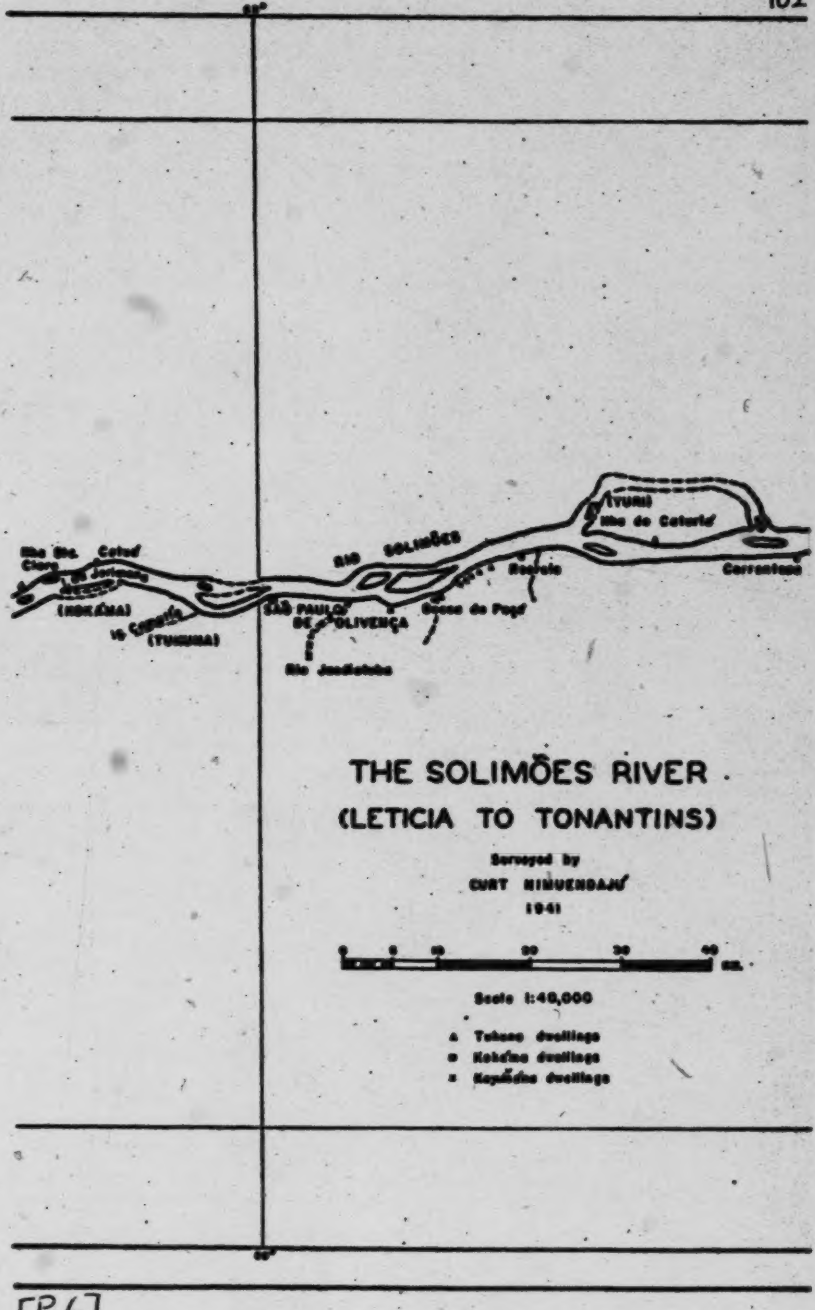
131
133
103
361
102


70°
COLOMBIA
BRAZIL
LAGO TAKY
SANTA RITA
(TUKUNA)
PERPETUO SOCORRO
LETICIA
RIO SOLIMÕES
Igarapé Ariru
BENJAMIN CONSTANT
70°

The Solimões River
(For scale and eastern section, see following pages.)

131
133
103
361
102

[Section B]


Ilha Sta. Clara
Calué
Ig. de Jordania
(KOKÁMA)
Ig. Camatiã
(TUKUNA)
RIO SOLIMÕES
SÃO PAULO DE OLIVENÇA
Rio Jandiatuba
Bocca do Pupé
Recreio
(TYURI)
Ilha do Caturiá
Carrantapa
0
5
10
20
30
40
km.

THE SOLIMÕES RIVER
(LETICIA TO TONANTINS)

Surveyed by
CURT NIMUENDAJÚ
1941

Scale 1:40,000

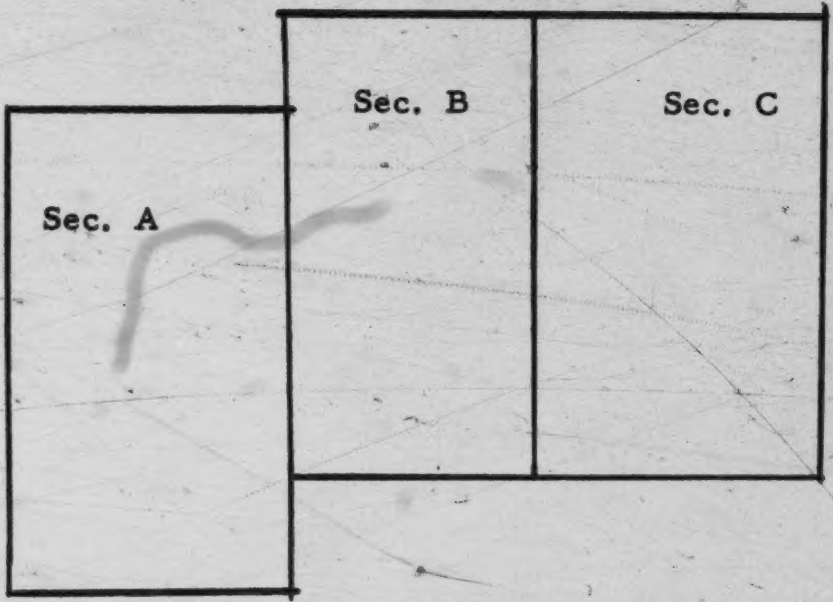
- ▲ Tukuna dwellings
- ● Kokáma dwellings
- ▪ Kayuišána dwellings

[P. 6]

1:Nimuendaju
102, 131, 133, 361, 103

SQ20 Tucuna

Chart of Position of Map on Pp. 5, 6, and 7

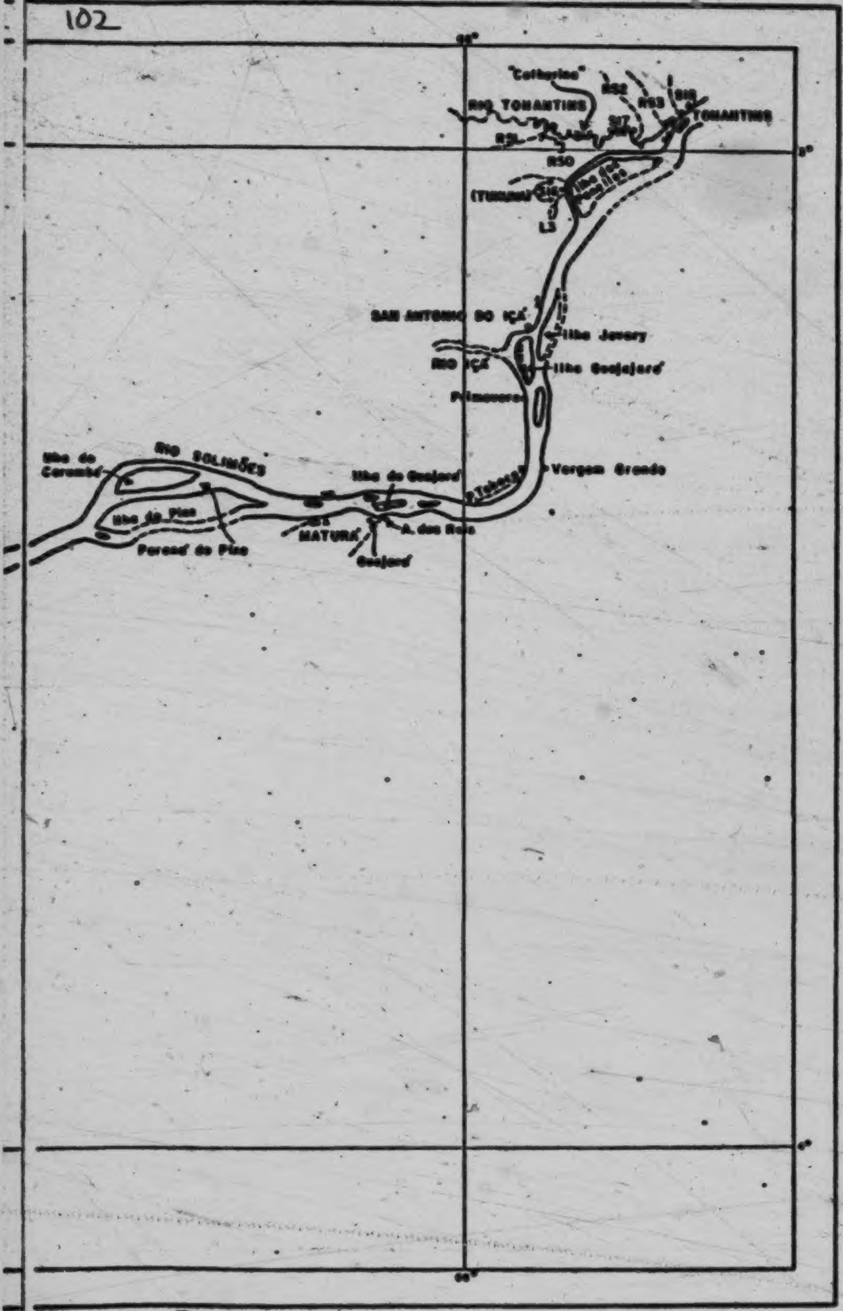

Sec. A
Sec. B
Sec. C

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

131
133
103
361
102

[Section C]


"Catharina"
RIO TONANTINS
RS2
RS3
TONANTINS
S17
RS1
RS0
(Tukuna)
L3
SAN ANTONIO DO IÇÁ
Ilha Jacary
RIO IÇÁ
Ilha Guajajará
Vargem Grande
Ilha do Guajará
A. dos Reis
MATURÁ
Guajará
Ilha do Curumbá
RIO SOLIMÕES
Ilha do Piso
Paraná do Piso

[P.7]

(*anta*), deer, pig, and agouti (*cutia*), so that today the jungle is very poor in these 136 species. An almost equal devastation was suffered by the chelonians, especially the great turtle (*Emys amazonica*). There are still great quantities of fish, which provide the principal food of the population. The *piracemas*, or shoals of fish which swim upstream to spawn, assume fantastic proportions. The *pirarucú* of the Solimões is an important article of export.

The insect pests, not so noticeable along the banks of the Solimões itself, transform the igarapés of the Tukuna into veritable infernos, since they desist neither in the daytime nor at night, nor at any season of the year. The worst persecutors of man are the gnats (*carapanás*), the mosquitoes (*maruins*), and the gadflies (*mutucas*).

## HISTORY

The Tukuna tribe has not been prominent in the history of the Amazon region. 175 It is first mentioned in 1641 by Cristobal d'Acuña, the historian of the expedition of Pedro Teixeira from Belém to Quito in 1639. Acuña cites the "Tocunas" as being 648 enemies of the Omáguas of the northern bank of the Solimões. Laureano de la Cruz mentions the Tukuna, whom he calls "Jaunas,"[1] at the time of his journey in 1649, as inhabiting the north bank of the Amazon, above the Putumayo. Heriarte in 1662 does not refer to the Tukuna by name but mentions the fights that the Omágua had with the tribes of the "solid ground" (*terra firme*).

In 1645 the Spanish Jesuits began to catechize these Omágua, and as early as 1650 the first smallpox epidemic caused the tribe heavy casualties. [797] The upper Solimões was transformed into a battleground between the Portuguese and the [721] Spaniards, the latter establishing their missions from the lower river up to the present Teffé, the former extending the slave hunts, under the name *tropas de resgate*, "ransom troops," to the upper river.

A series of skirmishes, battles, and retreats by each side took place, especially from 1708 to 1710. In 1732 a Portuguese flotilla ascended the Solimões and the Napo to establish a fort at the mouth of the Aguarico (75° W. long.), which Portugal claimed as its western boundary, but it was impeded in this task by the resistance offered by the missions. In 1766 the Portuguese occupied the mouth of the Içá, and in 1776 they founded the post of Tabatinga.

The result of all this was the disappearance of the Omágua from the islands of the Solimões, while the Tukuna in their jungle centers probably suffered very little. Some Omágua took refuge on the upper river; two Omágua villages persisted for some time on the Solimões, but to maintain them it became necessary to repopulate the villages with Indians of other tribes, among them the Tukuna, who during this period were taken to São Paulo de Olivença, Tonantins, Fonte Bôa, and even to Teffé.

Since they no longer had to fear the Omágua, and since the Mayoruna, their enemies on the right bank of the river, were also weakening rapidly, the Tukuna spread out more and more along the banks and islands of the Solimões to the Auatiparaná, which connects it with the Japurá.

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[1] Presumably *J* equals *T*, *a* equals *oc*, in the original manuscript written in 1653 (in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

175 648 [361] Simultaneously, the Kokáma Indians of the lower Ucayali region began to emigrate to the Brazilian Solimões, where they established themselves among the Tukuna, though in separate localities. Their most important period of settlement was in the middle of the nineteenth century at Jurupary-tapera (Santa Cruz) on the left bank of the Solimões, between the mouth of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and that of the Igarapé da Rita.

177 Today some two thousand of these Indians dwell in Brazil, along the banks and islands of the Solimões from the vicinity of São Paulo de Olivença to the Auatiparaná. They live in peace with the Tukuna but avoid contact and do not meddle with them. The cultural influence of the Kokámá on the Tukuna has been practically nil.

175 [731] From 1864 to 1870 Brazil was at war with Paraguay. Even today the Tukuna guard the traditions of the persecutions which they suffered from the "Varaváyu"; however, they designate by this name not the Paraguayans but the Brazilian recruiting troops, to whom they offered armed resistance. The few Tukuna recruits who returned brought back with them a new epidemic of smallpox, which caused havoc in the tribe.

175 797 361 In 1871 there was founded within the bounds of Caldeirão, at a spot immediately below the mouth of the igarapé of this name (today Belém), a mission which already had a nucleus of Tukuna Indians and which eventually possessed a chapel, 30 houses, and 171 inhabitants. By 1877, however, this establishment was in complete ruin.

175 648 In the last two decades of the past century the rubber-gathering industry began its extraordinary development throughout the entire Amazon region. It was for the Tukuna a sad era of exploitation, slavery, and abasement under the heel of greedy *patrões*, ignorant men but superior in force, which lasted for almost forty years; to this day they have not yet recovered from the effects, although the last of these squirearchs has long since disappeared.

However, even today there are some individuals, living at the mouths of the igarapés inhabited by the Tukuna, who willfully desire to hold the Indians subject to their selfish patronage. It is to be hoped that the Indian Welfare Service,* which was established in the region in 1942, will put an end to these anachronistic views.

161 / There are no written records of the total number of Tukuna for any period of the past, but very conservatively I estimate their present number in Brazilian territory at more than 2,000, their total number as 3,000; they are therefore one of the most numerous tribes in Brazil.

## SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION

114 Before 1928 no one had studied the Tukuna in their primitive settlements. One or another traveler had been present occasionally at some episode of their celebrations, collected from the Neobrazilians of the area some not always accurate information, or had some Indian of the tribe for a paddler; but it appears that no one had spent even a day among them. The first reports, which many other writers utilized for more than a century, we owe to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha and to Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, who were briefly in the Tukuna country

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* Serviço de Proteção aos Indios.

in 1768 and 1774, respectively. Both apparently used the same informant, since they give almost identical information on the transmigration of the soul, circumcision at the conferring of a name, the nudity of women, and "idols" (masks).

In 1820 Spix was present at a child's hair-plucking ceremony in Tabatinga.[9] He reproduces in his atlas the entrance of the masked dancers, which he describes; but he fails to give any details of the ceremony, which must have strongly aroused his curiosity since he attended it. I have the impression that his observations as an eyewitness were limited to that entrance alone. He obtained some further information at second hand and recorded the first vocabulary of the language. Henry Lister Maw, who was in Tabatinga in 1828, also describes a masquerade dance, which he attended in the company of a local missionary.[10]

Castelnau, descending the Solimões in 1846, could hardly have observed the Tukuna culture; however, he gives some notes on curare and a small vocabulary.[11] Paul Marcoy, who met a Tukuna canoe on the Atacuari, furnishes another small word list and gives three portraits.[12] His account of the phonetics of the language is exaggerated.

In 1851 Herndon, in the company of a local missionary, surprised and interrupted the cure of a sick person in Caballococha.[13]

Bates (1857–1858), gives a description, with an illustration, of a ceremony with masks he witnessed near São Paulo de Olivença. It obviously concerns the end of a puberty ceremony, which the author took to be a wedding. Orton (1867) furnishes scanty information, based on Bates, and a small vocabulary.[14] Barbosa Rodrígues (1872–1874) reports measurements of twelve Tukuna Indians taken in Tonantins and discusses curare.[15] Rivet (1912) offers a study of the Tukuna language, based on four previously published vocabularies.[16] Tessmann (1930 ?) reports on an extensive interrogation of one Tukuna Indian. On some points he is wholly inaccurate.

Nimuendajú records the results of a fifteen-day visit he made in 1929 to the Tukuna of Igarapé de Belém, of Lago de Cajary, and of Igarapé de São Jeronymo.[17] He notes the division into clans and moieties, gives a résumé of material culture, publishes two incomplete myths, and discusses some poorly understood points.

In 1941 and 1942 he paid a second, six-month, visit to the Tukuna, and a third visit of five months, living with the Indians of the Igarapés Mariuaçú, Tacana, Belém, São Jeronymo, and Rita, and at numerous settlements on the islands and along the banks of the Solimões. His linguistic material comprises texts of legends and songs in the original language. Since he did not visit the Tukuna of Colombia or Peru, all his data, except where otherwise stated, refer to the Tukuna in Brazilian territory. The present work synthesizes the results of the three trips.

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[9] Spix and Martius, Reise in Brasilien, 3:1188; Martius, 1:444, 2:159, 413.

[10] Maw, Journal of a Passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic, pp. 211, 218–227 *passim*.

[11] Castelnau, Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud, 5:23, 41–46 *passim*, 50, 59, 61–62, 83, 298–299.

[12] Marcoy, De l'Océan Pacifique à l'Océan Atlantique à travers de l'Amérique du Sud, pp. 147–148.

[13] Herndon and Gibbon, Exploration, 1:234–248 *passim*, 252.

[14] Orton, The Andes and the Amazon, pp. 232, 233, 237, 320, 378, 470, 473.

[15] Barbosa Rodrígues, Ticunas, pp. 52, 53, 152.

[16] Rivet, Affinités du Tikuna, pp. 83 ff.

[17] Nimuendajú, Besuch bei den Tukuna-Indianern, pp. 188–194; Idiomas indígenas del Brasil, pp. 543–618.

## II. HABITATION

361 THE ORIGINAL Tukuna habitation was a large, isolated, communal dwelling, *maloca*, occupied by more than one family. [592] All settlements made up of a number of houses together, like Tabatinga, São José do Javary, and Caldeirão, owe their origin to [177] Neobrasilian initiative and were so contrary to tribal custom that the complaint was always heard that the Tukuna did not want to be herded together but would spread out again through the jungle.

I have often been told by the Indians themselves that in such or such a place [611] there was once a great maloca of this or that clan. I do not know how to interpret this statement, for though the clans of the Tukuna are patrilineal, the family is [591] more matrilocal than patrilocal, so that only in very special circumstances would all the men of one maloca belong to the same clan. However, the clan tẽ'ma (Burity)—if, as tradition says, its members once spoke a language different from that of the other clans—might have been collectively localized.

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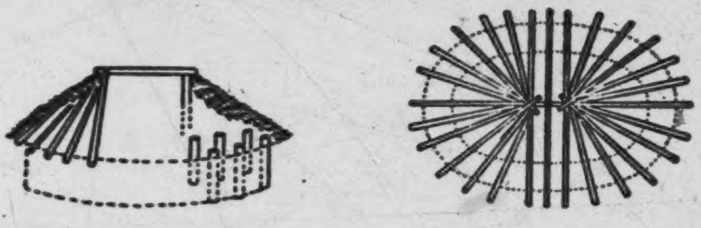

Fig. 1. Maloca or communal dwelling. *a.* Sketch showing roof and interior construction. *b.* Plan of rafters.

### HOUSES

These houses were apparently circular; actually, however, there was always a small, rectangular central section, with a semicircular roof bay at each end (fig. 1). The rafters of this rectangular section, which formerly was only some two or three meters long, rested on a short ridgepole supported by pillars or posts. At each end, a little below the ridgepole and in the angles formed by the two outer pairs of rafters, there was a small horizontal crossbeam fastened to the rafters, and upon this rested the rafters of the roof bay (fig. 1, *b*).

Two series of vertical supports divided the interior into two concentric parts, the inner series—at least, the highest and strongest—being of *acapú* wood. The [824] house was covered with *caranã* thatching, the stems being intertwined and attached to a long lath of *paxiuba*[1] wood. The tips of the leaves were split and were also intertwined. The laths with the thatching attached were tied horizontally on the rafters with strips of the inner bark. For the first three or four years, at least, this covering was an absolutely impermeable protection from the tropical rains.

The walls, more or less the height of a man, were made of small poles of paxiuba wood, or of the same material as the roof. In a few houses the interstices were filled with clay. In Igarapé na'inë-tį I saw the remains of a structure of this kind, which 342 had been inhabited until about fifty years ago.

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[1] An exceedingly tough Amazonian palm (*Socratea exorrhiza*), the roots of which are so thorny that they are used to scrape manioc roots.

Midway in the wall of the roof bay at either end was a door (i$^{a}$'ya) made of a special and very durable thatching called čatį[8] and small poles of paxiuba. The door was completely free from the house and was removed and propped at one side when not in use; it was closed from the inside by a crossbeam.

These houses were tightly constructed in order to serve as a refuge from mosquitoes, for, unlike the Omágua, the Tukuna formerly did not have the mosquito net. Through contact with the Neobrazilians, however, they at once recognized the [177] enormous advantage that this article offers in a region permanently scourged by [352] mosquitoes, and today mosquito nets are found in all Tukuna houses.

*Modification of house type.*—The introduction of the mosquito net completely altered the style of dwelling. Since it was no longer necessary to seal the house hermetically, the walls were abandoned, and today they are only rarely seen. Many Tukuna also gave up one or both of the semicircular roof bays, lengthening the central section to compensate for this, so that an open, rectangular shelter finally resulted. This is probably the type to which Tessmann refers when he speaks of the quadrangular Tukuna houses.

Formerly the Tukuna dwelt exclusively on firm ground, and the construction of their houses was not suitable to another environment. After they spread out along the banks and islands of the Solimões, many found their dwellings periodically invaded by the flooding river. They were therefore obliged either to live on a platform of poles, like the Omágua of old, or to move temporarily to more solid ground.

Occasionally I encountered a type of structure for which I have no certain explanation, namely, a rectangular house of small dimensions (3 by 4 m.) resting on tall poles 2 m. high or more. This construction is certainly not an adaptation to the floods, for the houses I saw were all on solid ground. With one exception, all were found in the yard of a larger and more usual house.

These little dwellings are always inhabited by bachelors or by newlyweds; I am therefore inclined to regard them as derived from the small "loft" which is always found below the highest part of the thatched roof and more or less at the same level as these separate houses. These lofts also serve as dormitories for bachelors or newlyweds. According to the Tukuna, the small houses are a recent innovation, adopted [176] by their inhabitants "because they thought it better that way." Perhaps the innovation is due to the growing individualism of the new generation. It does not appear to me to be an element borrowed from another native culture.

With the exception of a few dwellings of some Tukuna who snobbishly vie with one another in copying the shanties of the Neobrazilians, the houses of these Indians are even today outstanding because of the elegance of their light yet strong furnishings, and their ample and spacious construction. On the Jacurapá, a tributary of the Içá, I measured one that was 31 by 15 m., and 10 m. high, yet this was not one of the largest.

These Indians construct such spacious dwellings because their villages have no houses exclusively for festivities and, since all celebrations stem from private ini- [345]

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[8] T., na-rį-konç, "tongue of anteater."

342 tiative, they must be held in the several private houses. Furthermore, on these
[345] occasions one can count on the presence of perhaps three hundred or more persons;
hence houses of the measurements given above are barely adequate, since most
of the ceremonies take place inside the house, not in the yard.

*Names of houses.*—Formerly, every house had an individual name given by the
342 owner who built it. Some house owners observe this custom even today. The con-
552 struction completed, the owner invites neighbors and friends to a "hair-trimming
party" (the reference is to the irregular tips of the new thatched roof), and on
this occasion he announces the name, chosen by himself freely and not dependent
on the clan, as are the names of persons. Some examples: či:'ru-gįne (či:'ru,
swallow; gį'ne, dwelling); čẹįį'ne (čẹįį', to soar in the air); pa:'rʊ (the name of
a mythical *serra* [p. 141]); ṅįrë-gįne (ṅį, to float; rë, tied together); taive-gi'ne
(taive', "tauary, a tree [*Couratari* sp.]), the house of the culture hero dyɔi'.

*Interior and living accommodations.*—Attached to the walls is the most characteristic object of the modern house, a sort of stage or platform of paxiuba palm at least 2 by 1.5 m., but usually much longer. Its elevation varies from 10 to 70 cm. In houses inhabited by more than one family there is a platform for each family, besides the previously mentioned lofts beneath the roof.

Seated upon these platforms, the Indians pass the better part of the day, working
352 or conversing. And here at night they spread out large cloths made from the inner
513 bark of the *tururí* tree[3] and erect the mosquito nets. Formerly, there was no such
platform; it became necessary only when the mosquito net was adopted. Its name,
dyʊra' (l.g., *giráu*), is Tupi.

283 Originally the Tukuna slept in hammocks (na:'pa) made by weaving tucum
[513] thread to make an elastic mesh; beneath, they maintained a small fire on cold nights.
[439] *Tucum* thread, twisted by the women on the naked thigh or abdomen, is today
another article of Tukuna commerce with the Neobrazilians. I never saw thread
of *ambaúva*[4] fibers, which, according to Tessmann, is manufactured by the Tukuna,
and none of the Indians whom I consulted had any idea of its preparation.

513 The hammock is made by passing an "endless" thread around two vertical posts,
the distance between them equal to the length desired for the hammock. A shuttle
286 of paxiuba wood or, as a makeshift, a leafstalk of the burity palm is used for the
weaving. Formerly, hammocks were apparently sometimes made of tucum in a
technique of double transversal threads, but the Tukuna themselves say that this
type was an imitation of the hammocks of a strange tribe, exactly which tribe they
do not know. I never saw cotton used for the woof, as Martius reports.

The hammocks, in spite of having "cuffs" (*sobrepunhos*) are usually short, but,
owing to the weaving technique, they stretch enormously in a lateral direction.
[531] The Indian women know how to produce various decorative patterns by inserting
black threads or even red, yellow, and green.

Nowadays, the hammock—which is never set up beneath a mosquito net—serves for the daytime rest, since rocking is the only way of keeping at a little distance the horrible plague of mosquitoes and gadflies. It is offered as a privilege to an honored guest.

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[3] T., nʊ'ëvë, nyɔ'ë.

[4] *Cecropia* sp.; known also as embaúba, imbaúba.

Articles of use, clothes, for instance, are kept in a large basket made of *uarumã*, 352
with a lid and a round mouth. Four pointed bulges woven in the lid and at the
bottom serve as feet (pl. 5, *b*). Another type of uarumã basket, with a round 285
mouth, has a flat, square lid and bottom (pl. 5, *d*). Baskets of these two types
are found in all sizes, from 4 to 40 cm. in diameter. There are other small conical
baskets woven in spiral technique, with flat bottoms. I do not know whether they
are aboriginal or are imitations of the Neobrazilian *balaios* (hampers or fruit
baskets).

In many houses nowadays one sees trunks that have been purchased from the 352
Neobrazilians. In most houses, however, clothes and tucum fibers are suspended [439]
from the crossbeams. Almost always, too, there are the remains of preparations
for the last celebration: some costumes hanging from the house posts, fragments
of tururí cloth thrown on top of the highest crossbeams, dance batons thrust
beneath the roof thatch, small drums tied to the corner rafters, grotesque masks
wrapped in bundles of tururí cloth, and rolls of tururí containing ornaments.
Frequently, also, one sees ears of maize tied together on the crossbeams or the loft.

*The kitchen.*—Nowadays at least, no one keeps or cooks food in the living quarters. 343
For this purpose there is always a special little hut, ten to fifty meters away
from the main house. Today this is invariably a rectangular shelter with a ridge
roof.

According to Bates, the fires were built in the open space in the center of the 343
house.[5] But the haphazard construction of the house he describes makes one doubt 114
that this was customary, nor can one understand how the Indians, if they had [354]
kitchen fires in the middle of the house, could carry on in it such active ceremonies
as the puberty ceremony. Moraes Torres, however, describes a Tukuna house which
he saw a few years before, in 1852, perhaps in the same place (near São Paulo de
Olivença), in which the space encircled by the inner series of the roof supports
"served as kitchen and dance-hall."[6] It is noteworthy that most accounts give the
cook shed its Portuguese name, *cozinha* (T., kučí'ná).

All this leads one to believe that such separate sheds were an innovation that 343
appeared when the Tukuna learned the preparation of fermented manioc flour, [177]
*farinha d'agua*, from the Neobrazilians, and that they are variants of the Neobrazilian
oven "houses." At the same time, the Tukuna swear that these sheds have
been used since the old days and that the aboriginal type was also circular.

In any case, the separate cook shed is today an outstanding characteristic of all the Tukuna settlements, distinguishing their houses at first glance from those of other peoples of the region, who cook beneath the roof of their dwellings or in an attached shed. In the Tukuna shed one finds everything necessary for preparing the daily food, as well as for making manioc flour.

The kitchen fire is distinguished by a *trempé*, a three-legged stand placed over [354]
the fire to hold a cooking pot. It consists of three pieces of baked clay, the central
part, on which the pot rests, being either pierced or solid.

Nowadays, fires are lighted by means of matches or a flint and steel lighter 372
acquired in trade. According to Tessmann, fire was formerly produced by striking

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[5] Bates, The Naturalist on the River Amazons, 2:403.

[6] Moraes Torres, Itinerario das visitas, p. 93.

372 two stones; the technique of making fire by the friction of two sticks was unknown.[7] The Tukuna described to me, also, how the ancients struck two stones (tɔ'a-čiĮ"'ʌ̃) together, catching the sparks in tinder of *taracuá*, a substance found in the nests of *tracuá* ants.

[824] Some, however, still remember well the fire drill used for this purpose, which was made of white *envira* wood. The drill was a rod about sixty centimeters long, or a shorter piece enclosed in a stem of *canna brava*. The hearth was a small board of the same wood, which rested on two small sticks. The drill, rotated between the palms of the hands, pierced the little board, and the glowing powder fell through the hole upon the tinder beneath. This apparatus, say the Tukuna, was invented by the culture hero dyɔi'.

[237] Today, a wing of a parrot, forest turkey, buzzard, or royal hawk serves as a fire fan; the shaft is sometimes wrapped in a piece of cloth and covered with wax. [412] Among the Tukuna I have never seen any fire fans of vegetable material, but the Neobrazilians and the Kokáma use them exclusively.

All the members of the family capable of working in the garden patch always bring kindling wood when they return. If, in spite of this, there is no kindling, special trips are made for it.

[412] [252] Fire tongs are unknown, but once I came across a sort of fork, formed of three branches stemming from a single point, which served to arrange the coals and to place upon them a piece of meat for roasting. The fork was especially made for this purpose and had already been in use for some time.

352 The platform supported on four stakes is never found in the kitchen where things are laid on the ground or are hung from wooden N-shaped hooks thrust into the roof thatch. These hooks sometimes end in a bird's head and are called vę"kĮ'ča (see p. 142). Some of the kitchens, however, have a small platform suspended from the roof, on which dried meat, bananas, and other foods are stored. [415] Jugs, bowls, and plates have their places on an outside platform (giráu), at the side of the shed. The jars (l.g., *igaçabas*), even when empty, are kept in the kitchen. They are turned upside down when not in use, and it is customary to store fruits, and so forth, under them in order to keep the food away from domestic animals and bats.

312 Although the Tukuna habitually obtain their drinking and cooking water from a clean spot, such as the center of the current, it bothers them little if the filled containers remain for hours exposed to the rays of the burning sun. [271] They drink little water, and one often finds the containers empty, but no one seems to feel the lack.

415 *Utensils and containers.*—All the Tukuna gourds, *cuias*, are made of shell of the gourd (*cuieira*) and are generally covered on the inner surface, or in a few rare instances on the outer surface as well, with a black lacquer of *cumatê* juice (fig. [386] 2, *a*, *b*). Sometimes the outer surface is decorated with an indelible red paint, *urucú*, [531] in a design of palm trees and animals. There are large hemispherical gourds, smaller elliptical ones, and little, narrow, long ones.

In the kitchen one always finds a number of wooden ladles and spoons, sometimes of a respectable size containing almost a half liter; these represent a post-Columbian

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[7] Tessmann, p. 561.

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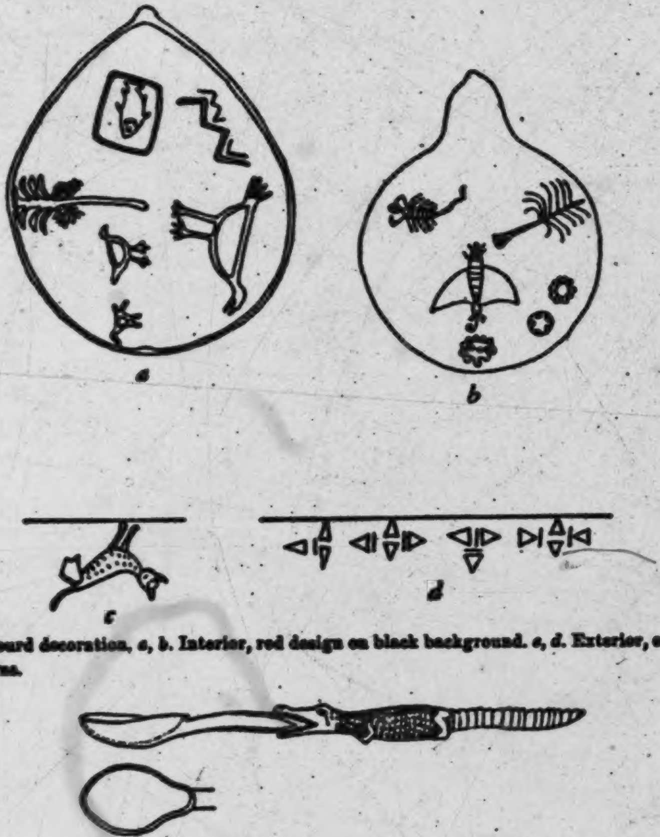

Fig. 2. Gourd decoration, *a*, *b*. Interior, red design on black background. *c*, *d*. Exterior, engraved edge patterns.

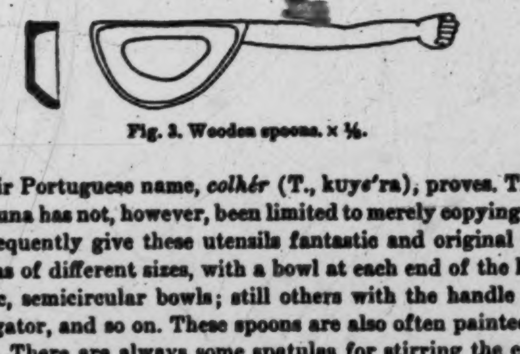

Fig. 3. Wooden spoons. × ⅛.

influence, as their Portuguese name, *colhér* (T., kuye'ra), proves. The artistic impulse of the Tukuna has not, however, been limited to merely copying the European [177] models; they frequently give these utensils fantastic and original shapes. There are double spoons of different sizes, with a bowl at each end of the handle; others with asymmetric, semicircular bowls; still others with the handle carved in the shape of an alligator, and so on. These spoons are also often painted with cumatê lacquer (fig. 3). There are always some spatulas for stirring the contents of the 412

412 pots. Fermented drinks are often stirred with a shoulder blade of the manatee, *peixe-boi*. For *mingau*, a sweetened gruel, there is always a little swizzle stick made of arrow cane with a small cross of sticks lashed transversely to the end of the shaft.

415 The Tukuna still use three types of "primitive" containers. One consists of the outer shell of the *sacupaia* nut in its original form. Another is made from the spatulate end of the frondstalk of the *anajá* palm, which has the shape of an oval basin with noticeably raised edges; nothing is done to this either, to prepare it for use. A third is made from the leaf sheath of the *açahy* palm,[*] which is folded into the shape of a small, flat, rectangular box, about a half meter long, the folds being secured with two small, wooden spits.

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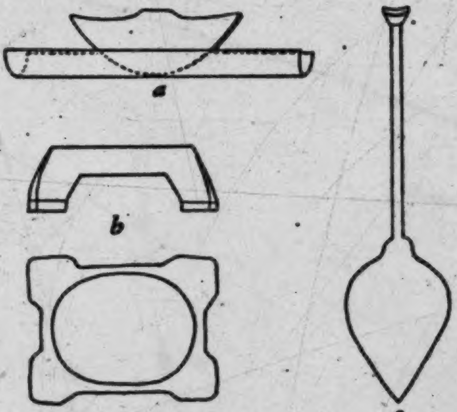

Fig. 4. Wooden objects. *a*. Quiricá or rocking board, × 1/20. *b*. Small bench, × 1/10. *c*. Paddle, × 1/20.

417
252 By the side of the kitchen fire one invariably sees a portable rack, *moquem*, for drying meat, made of three poles, each 1.5 m. long, tied together at the upper ends so as to form a tripod (kɔ′ya-čikɨra′, jaw of alligator), between the legs of which the grill is tied. Any meat or fish to be dried is placed on this grill, which is then set over the fire or, if this is occupied, any handy kindling is piled beneath the tripod. Only if there is a large quantity of game or fish is a fixed grill set up, in which case it rests upon four posts and two crossbeams (na:′/tamɨᵃ).

The spit is rarely used, and then only to roast bits of small game. In order to handle fish easily on the grill the Tukuna press it between two prongs of a flat strip of wood, something like a pair of pincers. The prongs are passed through the fish's mouth and gills, and the ends are tied together just forward of the tail. Frogs, toads, Coleoptera larvae, shrimp, and small fry are placed on the grill wrapped in leaves, forming small packages tied at both ends.

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[773] Contrary to what Tessmann says,[*] the Tukuna do not use the mortar, though it does appear in their legends as an object used by demons. For it the Tukuna substitute a rocking-board (tau/ta′-činęᵃęᵃ; l.g., *quiricá*) of half-moon shape made

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[*] *Euterpe edulis*; also, *assahy*, *palmito doce*. The heart of this palm is eaten.

[*] Tessmann, *loc. cit.*

of a heavy wood, *cumarú;* it is two fingers thick and as much as 80 cm. long (fig. 412
4, *a*), and with it they crush and mill the material in a long semicylindrical trough
(tau/ta′), sometimes open at both ends. In this hod they often work with a short
wooden pestle; I saw one which ended at the top in a sculptured human head.

The cook shed is also the place where they make dry manioc flour, *farinha de* 252
*mandioca,* which is probably the Tukuna product most desired by the Neobrazilians
today. Formerly, the Tukuna did not know how to use it, but for dry flour substituted
*beijú,* a thin flat cake of fermented manioc dough baked on a clay slab.
They also had a flour made of maize cracked by the heat of fire,[illegible] which went by
the name of a/tĕ′ë and was eaten with bananas.

The Neobrazilians probably taught the Tukuna how to make manioc dry flour,
since so many of the Tukuna terms relating to it are Neobrazilian, for instance, [177]
the name of the product, ʊ:′i (l.g., *uí*), and of the utensils used in its manufacture:
e.g., yapu′na, oven (l.g., *yapúna*), te′piti, press (l.g., *tipity*), kučʊ, hod for the
dough (P., *cocho*).

I do not know what shape the earlier grater had; today it is invariably made of 412
a punctured sheet of metal. There are still small graters which are made from the
aerial root of the *paxiubinha,* and others made from the bony part of the tongue
of the pirarucú, but they are no good for grating manioc roots; they are useful
only in the preparation of certain medicines.

Like any other load, the manioc roots are brought from the garden patch in large 285
conical baskets (pl. 4). These are made by the men—who, however, never use [482]
them—in an open-mesh technique, usually of split *cipó,* more rarely of uarumã [462]
stems. The Tukuna say that they learned to make this type of basket (vɔ′tura;
Tupi, *waturá*) from the Omágua, who then made war against the Tukuna for copying [177]
an Omágua article. Formerly the Tukuna baskets were cylindrical, with a
square bottom. All are carried with a tumpline of envira. Baskets of both types [482]
are in use today, although the first type predominates.

Aside from these carrying baskets, the Tukuna also have a large woven bag, 415
ńë′/rį, closed by a drawstring passed through the mesh row of the opening; it often
has a tumpline woven of the same material (pl. 7, *e*). This bag, *puçá,* with the
mouth held open by a hoop of eipó or of elastic wood, also serves as a dip net. It [227]
is mentioned in the legend of the origin of culture heroes as one of two articles
typically used by women and is one of the elements which the Tukuna share with [171]
the cultures of eastern Brazil and the Chaco.

Formerly, the Tukuna peeled manioc roots with the edge of a large bivalve shell, 412
kɔru, common along the Solimões. This is used even today to scrape pineapples for 252
the preparation of a cooling drink. [272]

For soaking bundles of manioc roots in plain water the Tukuna invariably use
an old canoe near the entrance to the house. The squeezed pulp from the press
(tipity) is placed in a hod, open at both ends and set slightly inclined on two
sawhorses. Nowadays, the Tukuna make "dry" farinha just as much as "wet";
they rarely bother with tapioca. The pulp is strained through square, large-meshed
sieves made of strips of bamboo, *taboca,* or uarumã (ʊ:′i-čim|/|ⁿn).

For other purposes there is a small fine-meshed sieve, va′ira-čin|/|ⁿń (*vóira,* 412

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[illegible] The word for popcorn, *pipocas,* was not used here.—Trans.

412 assai). These sieves are identical with those of the Neobrazilians and are probably borrowed from them. The original type of Tukuna sieve is perhaps the round one found occasionally even today; it fits better in the mouths of the jars used in straining the pulp from which beverages are made, the original purpose of these sieves.

[171] The paddle for stirring manioc flour in the oven is the same as that used by the Neobrazilians—a small board attached to a long stick, if it is not just some old canoe paddle. For turning cassava (*mandioca*) cakes in the oven the Tukuna use a small board shaped like a segment of a circle, almost invariably a broken section [285] of an old canoe-paddle blade. Flour is kept in cylindrical openwork baskets woven of uarumã in an open-mesh technique, lined with leaves that also seal the top, and [251] tied by a plait of eipó. This is the common form also used by the Neobrazilians.

352 In the kitchen there are always a number of small four-legged benches, ṅʊ/ma'vẽ (fig. 4, *b*), rectangular or oval in shape, each carved entirely from a single piece of wood. Sometimes they are made in the form of a tortoise, *jaboti* (*Emys tabulat* (pl. 9, *c*), and they are always made with some cunning. They are never more than [562] ten centimeters high. These benches are used exclusively by men while partaking of refreshments, whereas the women sit on the floor.

356 *Cleanliness.*—The house as well as the kitchen is usually clean, since both are swept out at least once daily with a broom made of the leaf ribs of small *tucumã* leaves left over from the fibers used in making thread. The Tukuna do not tolerate a stink in the house or in the kitchen. They immediately remove excreta of domestic [412] animals or of small children, including the soiled portion of the earth, with the point of a short, broad blade.[11] This scrupulousness is the main reason why these [231] Indians have a distaste for raising chickens and never keep pigs.

[136] Neither dog fleas nor chiggers (*Pulex penetrans*, *bicho de pé*) become annoying in Tukuna houses, but cockroaches, crickets, and tracuá ants are most disagreeable. These last, above all, immediately swarm over any food not on the grill while the fire is burning and invade baskets and trunks with irritating persistency. The Indian chief Calixto daüeru'kį fought this plague in Igarapézinho by thrusting thick reeds, open at one end, into the house thatch. In a short time the insects would build their nests in these reeds and, when the reeds were filled, he would shake them out over the fire and again insert the reeds in the thatch.

## COMMUNICATION BETWEEN SETTLEMENTS

487 Formerly, communication between isolated settlements was mainly by land, since the Tukuna, in contrast to the Omágua, were foot Indians, not canoe men. All the igarapés (tributaries of the left bank of the Solimões) inhabited by these Indians were connected by trails; likewise the different houses along a particular igarapé. Castelnau mentions these paths,[12] which connected the Tukuna habitations of the interior from Caldeirão (Belém) to Tabatinga and Loreto. With the development of navigation many of these trails were abandoned, although some are used even today.

501 Originally, the Tukuna practiced little navigation, being isolated in their jungle centers on solid ground by the Omágua, their superiors in warfare. They had only

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[11] *Terçado*, lit., a short, broad sword; probably the machete or *facão*.—Trans.

[12] Castelnau, p. 50.

small craft made from the trunks of *paxiuba berriguda.*[19] In contact with the 501
Omágua, hostile at first but ultimately peaceful, they exchanged their admittedly [177]
primitive craft for their neighbors' *ubá*—a canoe completely hollowed out from a
cedar trunk, with the gunwales not expanded by fire.

Finally, they learned from the Neobrazilians the use of the *casco* (pl. 10, *f*), a
canoe hollowed out from a tree trunk, carved both inside and out, expanded by
fire, and finally strengthened by interior braces. Today the Tukuna are excellent [396]
canoewrights for craft of this type, their cascos being duly appreciated by the
Neobrazilians. They have become a canoe people and sometimes pass entire weeks
on trips in this craft.

At the same time, though they have neglected their original trails, they have 487
opened up countless paths and passages of all kinds through the flooded jungles
in the marginal region along the Solimões and the igarapés, where they fish and
go from one house to another in their canoes. Since these passages are often low
and narrow, the Indians use only mats to protect their gear from the rains, not [295]
the *punacarica* or semicylindrical awning common to the entire Amazonian region. [501]
Rafts are never used for transport.

The casco is propelled almost exclusively by paddling, only rarely by poling. [502]
The paddle (fig. 4, *c*), another article the Tukuna sell in quantities to the Neo- 501
brazilians, has a round blade with a point about the length of the radius of the
central part or longer. The shaft ends in a small, slightly concave crosspiece. The
Tukuna say that originally the points of the paddles were shorter and less sharp
than now. According to Tessmann, the blade was large and round. The blade, the
crosspiece, and a small part of the adjacent shaft are invariably stained with [531]
cumatê paint, only the central part of the shaft remaining white. There are no [177]
other decorations on the paddle except those in imitation of the Neobrazilians'.

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[19] According to J. S. Decker, Flora Brasileira, this species is *Iriartea exorrhiza; I. ventricosa* is known as *castiçal.*—Trans.

# III. SUBSISTENCE

## AGRICULTURE

241 [226] AGRICULTURE and fishing are the principal sources of Tukuna economy. If forced to, the Tukuna will go for some time without collecting wild fruits or hunting; but the complete lack of garden products and fish simply spells misery to them.

[462] [476] [462] The garden patch, cleared and burned out of the virgin jungle, is as a rule made exclusively by the men, often in a communal work party, *uajurí;* but some widows, without masculine aid, clear the land and plant in the *capoeira* or secondary jungle growth. Both sexes pile up the rubbish and burn it, whereas planting is carried out exclusively by women and girls. [412] The original instrument for felling trees was the stone ax, whose appearance no one now remembers, but which, according to legend, the culture hero dyɔi′ stole from the demon tɔiⁿta [tʊɭⁿ′ta] (see page 131).

The four species of major importance for the Tukuna are bitter manioc, *mandioca brava* (*Manihot utilissima*), sweet manioc, *macaxera* (*M. aipi*),[1] maize, and yam, *cará* (*Dioscorea* sp.).[2] Lacking any one of these four, the Tukuna have a bad time of it, whereas the absence of other edible tubers, such as the sweet potato, and of other plants like sugar cane, pineapple, peanut (*manduví*),[3] and so on, affects them very little.

[773] According to legend, a solitary old woman discovered both the tree which furnished macaxera-like fruits and the art of making manioc flat cakes, beijús. On learning the secret, the men felled the tree and ate up everything; only Deer kept shoots and seeds in a basket (vatu′) of which the culture hero dyɔi′ later robbed him (see p. 131). For this reason the Tukuna refer to a cultivated plant as a pre-Columbian possession by saying that "it first came in Deer's vatu′."

[177] Formerly, only sweet manioc was known to them; apparently bitter manioc and the process of making manioc flour were introduced by the Neobrazilians.

[412] In planting either variety of manioc, a woman goes ahead, armed with a long, heavy, rounded stake of wood with a sharpened point (about 140 cm. by 7 cm.), with which she makes holes in the ground, a female companion trailing behind to insert the plant slips into the prepared soil. This stake (paye′ɭⁿn̈), when not in use, is kept under water near the entrance to the house or clearing, so that it will not dry out and lose weight. It is removed and dried off only on the eve of planting.

243 [773 Maize was not "in Deer's vatu′" but, according to legend, was given to the Indians by aria′na, a great coquette of the upper world, who brought it with her from one of the lower worlds, where she was once forced to sojourn against her will. (See p. 112.)

[462] The planting of maize, done preferably by men, is accompanied by a certain ceremoniousness that is not observed for any of the other plants. The kernels are placed first of all in a gourd of water. The planter then takes a little of this water in his mouth and sprays it over the kernels in order to make them more savory. 243 784 Until the plants reach a certain height, he must submit to rigorous taboos. He cannot go near the fire, or eat or even touch the following fish: pirarucú (*Arapaima*

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[1] Commonly known in Brazil as *aipí*.—Trans.

[2] A tuber also known as *inhame*.—Trans.

[3] *Arachis hypogaea;* commonly known as *amendoim;* T., tö′tɭ.

*gigas*), *tucunaré* (*Cichla* sp.), *cachorra* (*Eynedon hydrocyon*, Cast.), or *aracú* 243 (*Leporinus* sp.). These last two are forbidden because they eat leaves. The same 784 prohibition holds for the honey of the wild bee, *jandaíra*, and for *muxiua*, the edible larvae of Coleoptera.

The planter of maize must not touch any fish stupefacient (*timbó*) or blood, or any object the color of blood; if he should touch urucú or *genipapo*, the maize would turn red or black. One day, an Indian who had planted maize brought me a fish, a tucunaré. Later, the leaves of the maize he had planted turned yellow. To undo the evil effects of the broken taboo he had to wash his hands and arms with *envira de matamatá*, because they had touched the fish, and had to bind his arms and legs with strips of the same liana.

If a pregnant woman plants maize, the plant also becomes "enceinte," and it will [843] produce twin ears.

Contrary to the statements of Tessmann's informants,[4] these Tukuna cultivate 244 the peanut (manduví) just as much as the sweet potato; of the latter they raise two special types, one for the brewing of beer (*chicha*), one as a component of curare. The cultivation of the first type is post-Columbian, according to some of my informants, but the second is undoubtedly aboriginal.

They also say that a stunted type of sugar cane was "already in Deer's vatu'." 249 The cane is little cultivated. To extract the juice it is crushed first with a club and then twisted, in the way Tessmann has described.

The banana, today of considerable economic importance, is post-Columbian, but 245 its culture dates back several centuries. The most common varieties are pɔi' (large), iru' (small), and the nyëëta'rë pɔi' or guariba monkey banana, so called because of its red color.

Even today the Tukuna do not plant either kidney beans or broad beans. The 244 malagueta pepper is of recent introduction; formerly only one type of pepper was known—a small, round, yellow pepper called mʊ'nëru ("grasshopper's head"; më'ë, generic name of peppers).

Four other plants with edible roots are cultivated in the clearings: ɔ'ru (*ariá; Maranta lutea* Jacq.), also cultivated by the Neobrazilians and formerly extensively planted; maikura'ki (*maikúra*, sweet) or dya'matịna (l.g.?), the tubercles of which have a sweet taste; nakị-čane ("penis of tapir"); said to be cultivated by the Kokáma also; and a:'tatị, which is occasionally planted by the Neobrazilians of the region.[5]

Cotton (tẹ) was formerly planted more widely than today, but now one finds 248 only a few isolated stands in the clearings, and many Indians no longer plant any at all. Cotton fell into disuse after purchased cloth began to be used for the feminine apron, *tanga*, which was originally the main product of Tukuna weavers. [439] Other articles once made of cotton are now made of tucum fibers, such as bands for arm and leg and the sling (*tipoia*) for carrying children.

In 1941 I met with considerable difficulty in acquiring two spindles (tẹ-či'vanẹ") 286 for the ethnographic collection at Belém do Pará. The shaft is topped by a small knob; the whorl, of turtle shell (*tracajá*, turtle; *Podocnemis* sp.), or of wood, is [321] placed on the shaft from above.

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[4] Tessmann, p. 560.

[5] Only *ariá* is identified.—Trans.

248 Another plant that formerly furnished fibers is the mɔə'vɨ (*Bromelia* sp.; l.g., *curauá*);[6] they served especially for bowstrings and for lashing arrows.

According to Bates the small bags (tʊ'/maka) with carrying strap were made
[415] of bromelia threads;[7] in them the hunter carried ammunition for his shotgun, and they also served as containers for trifles at home. Today, without exception, they are made of tucum fiber (pl. 7, *c*). Nowadays bromelia is only rarely cultivated, and then on a lesser scale as a medicinal plant.

After the beginning of commerce with the Neobrazilians, tobacco also was culti-
177 vated less frequently, and it has almost disappeared from Tukuna clearings. Its
[249] old name was pɔː'ri. Pre-Columbian occurrence is probable, since tobacco is used
in Tukuna magic ceremonies. Aside from sugar cane and bananas, the Tukuna
241 adopted from the Neobrazilians only the watermelon, və'račia (from the Portu-
177 guese *melancia*), and the squash, *jurumúm* (*Cucurbita maxima*), of which they
make little use.

However, they cultivate almost all the Neobrazilian fruits,[8] planting around their houses mangoes (*Mangifera indica*, Reg.), avocados (*Persea gratissima*, Gaert.), *abiú*, *atta*, *biribá*, oranges, lemons, papayas (*Carica papaya* L.), guavas (*Psidium guayava*, Raddi), cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.), *bacuri*, and *ingá*. It is difficult to determine whether most of these fruit trees were cultivated by the Tukuna in pre-Columbian times. The genipa and the urucú figure in the legends of culture heroes; both are found in the house yards.

There are a great number of medicinal plants, many of them being cultivated
249 at the border of the house yard so as to be always at hand. For poisonous snake
278 bite the Tukuna apply a liquid prepared from the scrapings of a plant called
757 a/tapẽ-arɨ-eɨ$^{a}$ (medicine of jararáca; *Bothrops jararaca*) boiled in water; they
give the victim spoonfuls of this at intervals, until the symptoms subside. If the accident occurs in the jungle, far from home, the victim chews the green leaves of a common bush, swallowing the juice in order to retard the effects of the poison.

The bulb of a cultivated plant, dyaa'-arɨ-eɨ$^{a}$ (diarrhoea medicine) or pʊː'čui ("nightingale"), scraped and made into an infusion with cold water, is used for diarrhoea (dya'ɨ$^{a}$). The dried leaves of čẽẽ-arɨ-ẹɨ (medicine for blows; čẽẽ, blows), also cultivated, are tied over bruises which break the skin. For earache, the leaves of ṅʊma'čiẽ-arɨ-ẹɨ$^{a}$ (P., *trevo rouxo*, purple trefoil) are crushed to distill the juice, which is slightly warmed with a firebrand and introduced into the ear by a leaf rolled into funnel shape. This is also a cultivated plant.

The root scrapings of ẹ/tɨmaa (bitter; l.g., *gapuhy; Martinella obovata*) a solid-ground jungle cipó, are applied in the same way for conjunctivitis. If this remedy proves ineffective, an ash from the charred tip of the Mauritia palm, curauá, is dropped into the eye; today this species is planted only for this purpose.

*Domestic animals.*—For domestic animals the Tukuna have only dogs, chickens,
231 ducks, and, rarely, a cat (T., pe'cana; l.g., *pichano*). According to Tukuna belief,
235 chickens (ɔta', from the ancient Quechua, *atahuallpa*)[9] were caught somewhere in

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[6] The term *curauá* is also used for a palm (*Mauritia curaua*).—Trans.

[7] Bates, 2:403.

[8] See Glossary for species and description of these fruits.

[9] Nordenskiöld, Deductions Suggested by the Geographical Distribution of Some Post-Columbian Words Used by the Natives of South America, Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 5:17 ff.

the wild state by the first men, who raised them in their houses. Even today the 235 Tukuna raise very few chickens, since they dislike their dirtying up the house or yard. Their forefathers had an aversion to the flesh but ate the eggs. Of the present generation no one refused to eat chicken with me, but in general they raise them [439] only for sale to the Neobrazilians.

The plague of blood-sucking bats forces the poultry raisers to keep their wards almost always locked up at night in well-closed henhouses. These are generally [136] conical in shape; one that I saw even had a veranda! Ducks, which are not very numerous, were recently introduced, as their name "pa'tu" (P., *pato*, duck) indicates. [177]

With the exception of large mammals and birds of prey, the Tukuna occasionally 231 raise at home the young of almost every species of wild animal that falls into their hands. These animals, all of which have the run of the place, generally stay only a short time in the possession of their original captors, since they are greatly sought after by the Neobrazilians. Others, upon becoming adult, turn wild or almost wild, coming and going at will from house to jungle and back again; they are given food, but no attempt is made to recapture them.

Every year, in the winter, the women and children are in the habit of raising the young of a marmoset called *leãozito* (little lion)* by the Neobrazilians. Sometimes two or three may be observed clinging to the hair of their mistress, who thus carries them wherever she goes, giving them masticated food from her own mouth. During the night she shelters them in a conical basket, woven in an openwork technique; it is suspended with the bottom down and is covered with tururí bark [285] cloth, the round entrance being plugged up with a bit of rag. Although these tiny creatures cannot be raised outside this region, they are much coveted by civilized persons.

## FISHING

Fishing is the principal occupation of the men, who rarely let a day pass without 226 indulging in it. A boy is taught to fish, from childhood, accompanying his father 857 in the canoe and maneuvering it at his command. Even at the age of six, both boys and girls pass long hours alone in the igarapé or igapó in the small canoes their fathers make for them. At the age of nine or ten many boys are already able to provide the household with the fish required.

The equipment consists of the fishhook, javelin, arrow, harpoon, and arrow-harpoon. 227 According to Tessmann, bone fishhooks were formerly used. I did not succeed in getting data from my informants on this point. They were able to tell me only that in the old days the children used to fish for small fry with the mandibles [237] of the *taóca* army ants (*Ecyton* sp.), called vɔ'/čata in Tukuna. If this is true, then the fish certainly must have been only very tiny and of no economic value.

However, the fishhook (pɔ'/va) figures in the legend of the culture heroes as the property of a demon much older than they (see p. 126). Nowadays the Tukuna [779] do not go off in their canoes without taking one or more reeds with fishhooks of various sizes with which to experiment as soon as they arrive at a propitious place.

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* Also called *leoncito*, *saguim leãozinho*, and *chichico* (*Cebuella pygmaea pygmaea*, Spix).—Trans.

227 The javelin (čʊ/či) is a length of canna brava some two meters long and having from four to nine points; it was formerly made of smooth wood, today it is made [177] of iron wire with a barbed point. The traders on the banks of the Solimões complain bitterly of the Tukuna for unceremoniously filching the wire from their fences in [648] order to make these spear points, but they are too unbusinesslike to order rolls of this wire to sell retail to the Indians at a good profit.

226 The fisherman casts the javelin, holding it by its butt end. This procedure always gave me the impression that the javelin was the weapon reproduced in the atlas of Spix and Martius, that was formerly thrown with the *estoleca* (atlatl); but no one remembers it today. With the javelin in the right hand, and the paddle held close to the blade in the left hand, the fisherman guides his canoe under the shadow of the trees, silently and slowly.

151 226 The ability of the Tukuna to discover fish in the depths or at the bottom is truly extraordinary and can only be explained by their spending almost half their time since childhood in this activity. If, while traveling, the Indians pass by a spot that looks promising, they constantly hurl the javelin ahead of the canoe and retrieve it, where the untutored eye sees no sign of fish. The children especially may be seen fishing in this manner and in advantageous places where they do not overlook the slightest possible chance.

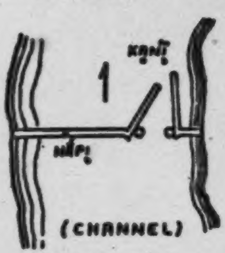

Fig. 5. Fish weir.

226 Especially vulnerable to the javelin are the shoals of fish which swarm up the Solimões in fantastic numbers and enter the tributaries to spawn during May and June. In the river narrows formed by the crumbling and falling of the solid banks, the fish crowd together in such a way that any cast will bring results.

227 Far less used for fishing than the javelin is the bow and arrow. The arrow (na:/nẽ) is a length of canna brava, without feathering and with a barbed point, formerly made of the bone of a sloth (*Bradypus* sp.), nowadays of iron, superimposed on a wooden foreshaft.

[226] The fisherman also often takes with him a reed with a small ball of bone, wax, or heavy wood attached to the end of the line (T., kuiⁿë/ịⁿṅ; l.g., *uapunga*). With the ball he strikes the surface of the water, thus imitating the fall of fruits, in order to attract certain fish—especially *tambaquís* (*Colossoma bidens*) and *pacú* (*Myteles* sp.)—if he does not obtain the same results by tossing the fruit itself.

[177] The arrow harpoon (T., vịrẽë'nẽ; l.g., *sararáca*), which today has a barbed iron point or, if used for turtle (*Emys tracaja*), four spikes, has been in use since ancient times, but not the long-shafted wooden harpoon which, in my opinion, was adopted only after the Tukuna began to inhabit the banks of the Solimões. There it is employed especially in fishing for pirarucú, the principal, and for some of the Solimões Tukuna the only, staple food, as well as an important article of export.

226 At the mouths of the numerous lake channels and at the dead-end arms of the lower courses of the igarapés one almost always finds a weir, *tapagem* (na:'/pị) constructed of bamboo strips. Where it extends close to one of the banks there is an opening between two posts with a movable door (kɔ'nịⁿ) of paxiuba shoots tied

together with cipó, 180 cm. long, more or less, which permits the fish to enter but 226 not to escape (fig. 5). Nowadays it is the custom to close this door at midnight in order to place the drug (timbó) in the water of the channel by five o'clock in the morning."[11]

Formerly, a cone-shaped basket (T., pęre:'; l.g., *jiquy*) was also placed at the entrance of the weir. This was made of anajá strips, its length being 2.5 m., the mouth 1 m. in diameter; from the mouth inward there was a sort of funnel made of stems with sharp points to impede the return of the fish, once they had entered. With this, as has been already mentioned, the Tukuna use the stupefying juices of certain plants, small bushes called generically "timbó" in the lingua geral. The [278] most active poison is provided by a broad-leafed species, ç'įn̈, which crops up nearly spontaneously in old second-growth jungles but is often cultivated as well, even today. Aside from this there are a large-leafed species, va'į/pę, and one with tiny leaves, na:'mi, both being cultivated. The drugged fish are captured with a dip net, puçá (described on p. 00). Certain fish, such as *acarís*, are even caught by hand.

The species of greatest economic importance are: 226 825

| *Lingua geral* | *Scientific* | *Tukuna* |
|---|---|---|
| pirarucú | *Arapaima gigas* | dö'či |
| tambaquí | *Colossoma bidens* | tə'makači |
| curimatá | *Prochilodus* sp. | kauě'ya |
| aracú | *Leporinus* sp. | ə'ta |
| tucunaré | *Cichla* sp. | tukuna'ri |
| pacú | *Myteles* sp. | a"ta'činikį |
| sardinha (P.) | *Chalcinus* sp. | a'raviri |
| surubím | *Platystoma* sp. | dyu'ta |
| piranha | *Serrasalmo* sp. | uču'ma |
| trahíra | *Macrodon* sp. | dõ |
| matrinchan | *Characinus* sp. | hõõči' |

Aquatic chelonians are shot with the arrow harpoon (sararáca), or are surprised 225 while laying eggs on the beach. The turtle of the species *Emys amazonica* (ba:'vẽ), now threatened with extinction, is no longer an important food for the Tukuna; but the species *E. dumeriliana* (təri')[12] is still abundant, and it, as well as its eggs, plays an important role in the aboriginal kitchen. The *matamatá* (*Chelys fimbriata;* T., nayarẽ) is rare.

The peixe-boi, or manatee (*Manatus inunguis;* T., a'iruvẽ), is rarely caught. The Tukuna do not kill the red dolphin (*Delphinus* sp.), notwithstanding their dislike for it because it scares away the fish.

### HUNTING

Game, which was tolerably abundant until about fifty years ago, is now rare because 224 of the rise in the price of leather and the use of modern firearms which are sold [177] to the Indians. In some isolated sloughs a lucky hunter may succeed in killing a tapir, pig, or deer.

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[11] Literal translation; meaning not clear. Possibly the door is closed at this time in order to collect enough fish during these hours to justify the use of the drug.—Trans.

[12] On p. 25 this species is given as *Emys tracaja;* on p. 22 the author refers to it as *Podocnemis.*—Trans.

The Indians go in twos and threes on these hunts. In the jungle close to the
224 settlements, the agouti (*Dasyprocta* sp.) is the most common game; after that, a
262 rodent, the *paca* (*Coelogenys paca*), and the raccoon, *coatí* (*Nasua socialis*). With
136 some persistence the Tukuna are still able to collect for the obligatory roasts
(*moquedo*) of the feasts enough monkeys of the following species: *prego* (*Cebus*
sp.), *barrigudo* (*Lagothrix* sp.), *coatá* (*Ateles* sp.), *parauacú* (*Pithecia* sp.), and
*guariba* (*Alouatta* sp.).

The following animals are so rare as to lack economic importance: *coandú* (*Cercolabes* sp.); anteater, *mambira* (*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*); armadillo, *tatú* (*Dasypus* sp.). The otter, *lontra* (*Pteroneura* sp.), another enemy of fishermen, is never eaten.

Of feathered game the most important are a forest turkey, the *mutum* (*Mitua*
223 *mitu*); the *jacú* (*Penelope* sp.); and wild pigeons (*Columba* sp.; *Leptoptila* sp.).
262 The red and yellow macaws, *araras* (*Ara macao* and *A. ararauna*, respectively),
136 parrots (*Amazona* sp.), parakeets (*Conurus* sp.), toucans (*Rhamphastos* sp.), and
*japú* (*Ostinops decumanus*, Pall.) are killed more for their feathers than for their
flesh.

The vulture, *urubú* (*Cathartes urubu*), is not eaten, nor are the *anhumá* (*Palamedea cornuta*) or the *cigana* (*Opisthocomus hoazin*).

As for caimans, the Indians will occasionally eat the young of the species called
225 *jacaré-tinga* (*Caiman yacare*) by the Neobrazilians. The tortoise, jabotí (*Testudo*
262 *tabulata*),[12] is little used. The Tukuna will eat some species of snakes.

136 *Weapons.*—Almost all the Indians now hunt with firearms, some with simple
muzzle-loading smoothbores, others with good, breech-loading; double-barrelled
411 pieces. Very infrequently some still use the blowgun, *carauatána*, originally their
national weapon for small game, above all, for monkeys.

The Tukuna blowgun (iᵃë') is the largest of all those known, being usually more
411 than 3 m. long. With the aid of tools now at their disposal, the Tukuna manufacture
322 it as follows. The material they prefer is a solid-ground jungle tree called *punau*
(*Iryanthera tricornis*, Ducke; T., pʊ'rune), lacking which they substitute the wood of the *bacabinha* (*Oenocarpus multicaulis* Spr.?), called in Tukuna "nyë." They bring to the house a piece of sufficient size, trim it, and later work it into the shape of a long, slender rod with four planed surfaces, 3.5 m. long by 7 cm. After sawing this lengthwise through the center, they gouge out a longitudinal furrow some 6 cm. wide from end to end in each section. Near the house, they then seek a tree, which should have a thick, more or less horizontal limb about 6 m. above the ground. From this limb they stretch a length of *cipó guembê* (*Philodendron* sp.) vertically to the ground, and lash a beam to it horizontally just above the ground, its weight keeping the cipó taut.

Around this length of peeled cipó they erect a platform of saplings, permitting a craftsman to stand erect, close to the cipó and about 2.5 m. above the ground; another man stays on the ground below. To the length of cipó they then bind the two lengths of wood, with the grooved sides facing inward, and pour over them water containing sand. The two pieces, now strongly bound together so as to form one unit, they pull up and down, keeping the cipó tightly stretched. With this

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[12] On p. 19 the author calls this *Emys tabulata* as well.—Trans.

continued movement the sand widens and deepens the grooves, so that in time the 411
binding has to be drawn tauter until finally the two sections of wood close com- 322
pletely about the eipó. This labor, which is very tiring since it lasts four days, is
carried on invariably by two men, one standing on the platform, the other below, [462]
working just as if they were sawing boards in a sawmill.

Removing the grooved pieces from the scaffolding, but always keeping the eipó bound within, they untie and retie the lashings, section by section, reducing the piece to a round shape instead of the former square shape, the thickness varying from 1 to 1.5 cm. at the muzzle and from 3.5 to 4 cm. at the breech. They then cut off a section at each end—since here the abrasive action of the sand and movement always widens the bore a little too much—and with wax they firmly join the two halves. The two lengths they then bind spirally on the outside, from end to end, with a strip about 3 cm. wide from the smooth eipó guembé, and coat the whole with wax again.

At the breech they add a mouthpiece of *mbirapiranga* wood (*Cesalpinia echinata; condurú de sangue*) in the shape of a hollow spool. About 10 cm. from this they
affix a sight made of wax, with a tooth of the squirrel, *acutipurú* (*Sciurus* sp.), set [237]
longitudinally with the convex side up.

Finally, they polish the barrel with a long wad of dried maize leaves with a cord tied at each end. Placing the blowgun in a horizontal position, two persons, each grasping an end of the cord, pull the wad back and forth through the bore until the desired result is obtained.

The Tukuna blowgun never has jaguar (*onça*) teeth at the mouthpiece as Tess-
mann was informed,[16] nor is the muzzle funnel-shaped, as in the plate of Barbosa [114]
Rodrígues.

In the house the blowgun is bound parallel to and pressed flat against a roof pillar, where it is tied at the top and bottom by two loops of cord. In order to remove any curvature, small wedges are inserted at the precise spot necessary between the weapon itself and the post to which it is lashed. When the weapon is not in use, the cleaning rod is generally left inside it.

I greatly admired the agility of the Tukuna in running through the jungle with 411
this weapon, for its length makes it a clumsy thing to carry, and it is too fragile 482
to stand strong knocks. But the Indians shift it from above the head to one side or the other, never knocking it against a tree trunk, and do not appear to be inconvenienced.

The dart (ɔča'gu) for the blowgun is about 30 cm. long and 2 mm. thick. A twist 411
of kapok, *sumahuma* (*Ceiba pentandra*), is rolled on at the rear end; below the point of the dart a small circular notch is cut so that the tip will break off in a wound.

The darts are kept in a long, small, cylindrical basket, *aljava* (yɔː'ru), with a
square bottom and a round mouth. The outside is covered with wax and has tied [415]
to it a small sack which contains kapok. The Tukuna do not attach the little curare
container shown in Barbosa Rodrígues' plate, since, before leaving the house, they [114]
always poison the number of darts they calculate will be needed. They spread the poison on the tip of the dart with a small spatula, then lay the darts so treated

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[16] Tessmann, p. 560.

411 on a beam near the fireplace with the points turned toward the fire in order to dry the poison. Before inserting the dart in the blowgun they moisten the poison by passing the tip between the lips.

278 [439] [178] *Curare.*—The Tukuna used to be famed for their curare, called in the lingua geral *uirarí* (gʊ:'rë), which was considered the most efficient of all forms, so that foreign Indians would come from afar to obtain their product. Today this admirable skill is being forgotten and is falling into disuse. Among the Brazilian Tukuna there is only one Indian capable of making good curare, Calixto daueru'kɨ of Igarapézinho, a tributary of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo. I was present four times, from start to finish, during his preparation of the poison.

The principal ingredient, about 70 per cent of the raw material, is the scraped bark of a liãna called gʊ:'rë,[29] a solid-ground jungle plant the trunk of which attains a thickness of some 20 cm. A few pieces of the liana are cut, and the bark is scraped at the same place. This used to be done with the edge of a bivalve shell; nowadays it is scraped with a knife. Once at home, the curare maker pours water over the scrapings into a wide-mouthed pot, where the resulting infusion forms a thick, sepia-colored soup. The scrapings are squeezed between the hands and placed on cane[30] leaves, tied together so as to form a kind of conical filter (gʊ:'rë-činɨⁿ). The leaves are held fast by bending them over a hoop and tying them in this position. The filter is placed on a frame of sticks to keep it about two handbreadths above the ground, the pot is placed beneath it, and the liquid is then poured through the filter.

The second ingredient, about 20 per cent of the total, is the scraped root of a plant called in Tukuna tau'-mačirë' ("anus of toucan"). The vapors released by scraping this plant somewhat irritate the mucous membranes. The infusion, which looks like a dark-brown mud, is placed in another cane-leaf filter beside the first.

All the other ingredients are used in quantities so small that, taken altogether, they make up perhaps 10 per cent of the total. Among them are the root scrapings of the ṅɔ:bɨ (jabotí)[31] plant, the infusion of which is poured through a separate filter but into the same pot as the preceding ingredients. Filtered into the same pot are also infusions of aṅ/pa'ra ("cinnamon," jacamím) and a small quantity of a special type of sweet potato called gʊ:'rë-ṅëiⁿ-kɔ:'rë, which is scraped with a pirarucú tongue. The other components—scrapings of vɔta', ɔva'ru, anɨ' and dyʊ'/ne—are considered of little importance.

After everything has been filtered several times, the liquids are poured together into a large pot, which is placed over a slow fire. The ash-brown scum that then forms on the surface is skimmed off, mixed with water, and filtered again. The thick, coffee-colored liquid is stirred with a hafted river shell. After some time a dark sediment begins to precipitate and is carefully removed from time to time, the liquid being poured into another pot. This task of removing the scum and sediment is continued for about a week, the preparator working about nine hours a day. It is done with extreme care, for they say that the efficacy of the poison depends largely on this. Pains are also taken not to allow overheating of the decoction, since it will lose its strength if brought to a boil. If it thickens too much, water is 278 added. The process is tedious and demands much attention. When the liquid has reached the desired thickness, after about ten days, some six or eight black beetles called "puᵒa'vɘ," which feed on the fungus that grows on rotten wood, are sought in the clearing and are tossed alive into the liquid. These insects exude a fetid, yellow excretion. They are removed after about an hour, and the curare is then thickened with extreme care over a slow fire until the final consistency is that of a very dense honey, which grows even thicker upon cooling. The color is dark brown.

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[29] *Strychnos toxifera* ?—Trans.

[30] *Ubím*, "cane"; also known as *guaricanga de bengala.*

[31] *Vèrga de jabutí* (*Erisma calcaratum*, Warm.?).—Trans.

The mass is transferred to a small, globular pot (gʊ:'rĕ-če-įn̈) especially made for this purpose, its mouth being covered with a banana leaf and securely tied. If the curare thickens too much with the passage of time, it is softened with a filtered infusion of pounded dyʊ'-ne leaves.

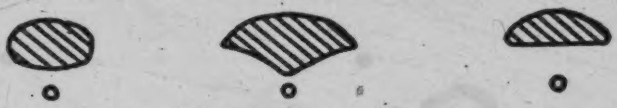

Fig. 6. Cross section of bow.

The production of curare is not at all a secret, although naturally each maker has his own individual technique. Although women and children are often present at this operation, they never take part in it beyond helping the husband bring [462] home the raw materials or scraping the roots. Von Hassel's statement that "entre los Ticunas tienen las mujeres ... el oficio de fabricar el veneno" is inexact.[illegible] Sometimes they prepare a special little fire for this purpose at the edge of the clearing, but I have also seen them use the kitchen fire itself, the food being cooked to one side.

The efficacy of the Tukuna poison is discussed in the works of Barbosa Rodrígues [114] and Santesson,[illegible] the latter dealing with the curare which I brought from Igarapé de São Jeronymo in 1929. I myself have seen it used in hunting monkeys. The 411 effect on the wounded animal is to produce immediately incontinence of feces and urine, the creature falling in about three minutes.

Calixto daueru'kį told me that, while poisoning some darts for a hunt one day, 752 he wounded himself very superficially in the hand. Immediately the action of the curare produced spasms of the facial muscles, pains, and incontinence of urine and feces. He cured himself by drinking his own urine, which the Tukuna consider the only remedy.

I was told of another Indian who went alone into the jungle to hunt with his 411 blowgun. When he fired at some arboreal animal, the dart erred in its flight, ricocheted off a tree, and struck him in the back. Later, he was found dead in the [752] jungle. It is because of such experiences that the Tukuna prefer not to go alone [224] while hunting with curare.

For large game they do not use the blowgun, but the bow and arrow and lance. The bow (vęra') is sometimes 2 m. long. Figure 6 shows it in cross section. The

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[illegible] Hassel, Las tribus salvajes de la region Amazónica del Perú, Bol. Soc. Geog., 17:58.

[illegible] C. G. Santesson, Ein starkes Topf-Kurare von den Tucuna- (Ticuna-) Indianern des oberen Amazonas, Acta Medica Scandinavica, 75:1–9.

411 ends are notched to receive the bowstring (vęra′-maa′ĩ*), which was formerly made of bromelia but is nowadays of tucum fiber. Since it has never been used much for fishing and today is not much used in hunting, the bow is being abandoned. The arrow (kɔ:′ru) is made of canna brava. Its total length is 162 cm.; the length of its four-tined point, 9 cm. It is poisoned with curare and kept in a sheath of bamboo (taboca). Its feathering, in the form of a bridge, is tangential (*Stegfiederung*). Today it is completely obsolete.

There were formerly three types of spear, of which two are still in use today. The first was a throwing spear, va:ma′gu, of paxiubinha, 263 cm. long. The poisoned tip, 16 cm. long, looked like an arrow point and, like the arrow point, was protected by a bamboo sheath. In 1929 I saw these spears still in use, but by 1941 they no longer existed. With the second type, dẽ, the Tukuna still hunt wild pigs. It is a thrusting spear some 236 cm. long, a simple staff of *marajá* wood (*Bactris* sp.), the point being produced by removal of an oblique slice from one end. The third type is even shorter, a pole, do′ẽa, which nowadays has an iron point. It is used in hunting jaguars (onças) brought to bay by hounds.

231 Dogs, T., airu′ (a′i, spotted jaguar, l.g., *onça pintada*), are found in nearly all the houses, but most of them are worthless for the chase, so that a hunter prefers to leave them at home. According to the Tukuna, dogs are pre-Columbian, the first having been mysteriously borne by an Indian woman.

224 *Traps.*—Formerly the Tukuna knew a number of aboriginal types of traps, most of which fell into disuse after the Indians learned how to make booby traps with firearms. One of these early traps, called "vaiⁿpara′ne," which was set up over a deer or tapir run, consisted of two strong but elastic logs, tied together vertically on a horizontal beam at a height sufficient to permit the animal to pass beneath. When the trap was set, the two logs were bent in such a way that the ends were spread apart to the sides of the trail at just the right height. The quarry, passing under the horizontal beam, would spring the trap, the two logs snapping against the animal's flanks. Since each log had three spikes on the inner surface, the game was severely wounded as well as tightly held.

For agouti (l.g., cutía) the Tukuna use even today a type of trap known as *mundé* (deadfall)—or, in Tukuna, yęta′—under which the victim is directed by two brush fences.

For small animals accustomed to running about on the ground, the Tukuna make an enclosure in the jungle sometimes a hundred meters long, and with various openings, behind each of which they set a noose. This fence appears in one legend
[773] of the culture heroes (see p. 126) and also in the tale of the seller of a songbird, *sabiá* (p. 154).

Another type of trap for catching *macucáuas* (*Tinamus* sp.), rats, and agoutis consists of a baited lasso at the end of an elastic pole (trip noose) bent over to the ground in the middle of a circular enclosure with one opening (bʊ:′rẽẽ). With
[223] other traps they catch doves and pigeons by setting a burden basket so that one side is slightly raised, with the bait below. In 1929 I observed a rattrap in the form of a small box with a trip door; I suppose, with Tessmann, that this variant was
[177] introduced through contact with the Neobrazilians.

For the deer that invade the plantations, pitfalls (a:'maɨᵉ) are dug to the depth 224
of a meter and a half, a sharpened paxiuba stake being set vertically at the bottom.
In a pitfall that I saw, a dog had died, and a few days later an alligator also fell
into it.

## GATHERING

The gathering of wild fruits and the capture of animals that cannot properly be 222
included under hunting are still carried on by both sexes; by men when the oppor- [462]
tunity presents itself and by women on trips made for the purpose.

There are many varieties of edible wild fruits, although most have no economic 222
importance, being no more than mere tidbits, like the pods of the *arara tucupy*, 824
the seeds of which are covered with a thin layer of thick, sweet liquid. The only 262
fruits of real economic importance are those of the four palms, burity (*Mauritia*
*vinifera*), *bacabeira* (*Oenocarpus bacaba*), *patauá* (*Oenocarpus patauá*), and
açahy (*Euterpe* sp.). All four species are common in the jungles of the Tukuna.
During the period of gathering one always sees large earthenware vessels con-
taining burity fruits soaked in a solution to make the rinds come off more easily, [415]
and the Indians constantly help themselves. The fruits of these four palms are 272
then macerated in tepid water and a fatty drink is prepared by a process common
among the Neobrazilians as well, the separation of the pulp from the stones by [171]
treading. The liquid is passed through a very fine sieve (va'iri-činɨ-ɨᵉñ, from va'ira,
açahy). A sufficient quantity is then prepared so that the neighbors may be in-
vited to drink also. The gathering of the fruits and the preparation of the beverage [462]
are feminine tasks.

The Tukuna are acquainted with the Brazil nut, or niggertoe, *castanha do Pará* 262
(*Bertholletia excelsa*), but they eat only the kernels without preparing from them
either milk or oil. Nino, an Indian of Igarapé da Rita, had planted near his house [245]
about ten such saplings, which were then bearing fruit.

The Tukuna will not eat toads, though they do not reject various species of
frogs; they also eat beetle larvae, which are found in burity palms, and the queens
of *saúva* ants (l.g., *içá; Atta cephalotes*) when they are swarming. Of the various [263]
kinds of honey the most appreciated is that of the wild bee, jandaíra. Bees are
not raised at home.

## FOOD

The most common food is fish, either boiled or freshly smoked and eaten with 262
farinha (formerly with beijús). Seasoning is obtained by thrusting the fingertip [263]
into a small dish with crushed salt and pepper and then licking it. At present,
the salt is bought from the Neobrazilians, but it is said that in the old days it was [439]
prepared from the ash from burned green marajá palm leaves.

Of fish, the Indian takes only as much as he can swallow at one gulp, picking 264
it, with a rapid pinch of the fingers, from the common receptacle. In consequence,
the piece of fish shortly assumes such a tattered appearance that it looks like noth-
ing more than a dog's dinner.

When there is roast game, no one cuts himself a large piece, but each in turn
seizes the meat, tears off a chunk with the teeth, and tosses the remainder back

264 into the common vessel. This gesture is as common as the pinch of the fingers. The Tukuna eat neither avidly nor hastily. During and after the meal they belch unreservedly and with evident satisfaction. Each one gets up when satisfied, goes to the platform where the water jugs are kept, washes his hands and mouth, and takes a swallow.

252 262 When the fish or meat have been on the smoking-rack (moquem) for many days and have thus become too hard, they are cooked with scraped green bananas until the mess completely disintegrates, the whole turning into a coarse pap (l.g., *mogica*). These are the two main foods.

Aside from these regular meals, however, someone frequently prepares a little snack over the kitchen fire, roasting either on the coals or on a spit a green banana, an ear of maize, sweet manioc root or yam tuber, or even, on the grill, bundles of green leaves containing a frog, a handful of beetle larvae, or minnows. The yam, especially, may be called the bread of the Tukuna.

## BEVERAGES

272 I have already mentioned the beverages prepared from the fruits of the burity, bacabeira, patauá, and açahy palms. Later on we shall see the great importance of fermented drinks in the social and economic life of the Tukuna, as well as the injurious effects of intoxication, their one vice.

273 There are three principal fermented drinks for ceremonies: (1) čavɨ-čɨ'ɨ, a maize drink (l.g., chicha); (2) čaɨ$^{a}$, from boiled sweet manioc (l.g., *caiçuma*); (3) pa'yavaru, from burned manioc flat cakes (l.g., *paiauarú*).

[114] [177] The first and second are pre-Columbian. Tessman's statement that the Tukuna do not use beverages made of maize is erroneous. The paiauarú was probably adopted from the Neobrazilian population which speaks the lingua geral; it is little used by the Neobrazilians of today.

For chicha, dry, ripe maize is pounded by the rocking-board; water is placed to heat over the fire and, when it boils, the meal is slowly dropped in and constantly stirred. It is permitted to boil until it becomes soft, when it is removed from the fire. A mouthful of a certain, special kind of sweet potato (*Batatas edulis* or *Ipomoea batatas*) is masticated and placed on top of the boiled maize, but without mixing it. Only after the mass of potato has settled is the combination stirred [237] with a spatula made from the shoulder blade of a manatee (T., kɔ'ruvë). The person who chews the sweet potato first washes his mouth and chews the leaves of a plant called vɔ'ča, which stings the mouth and lips, turning them and the tongue black. Finally, the liquid is strained through a sieve into a jar, where it remains. Generally, it will have turned potent by the following day.

To prepare caiçuma, the Tukuna peel a sweet manioc tuber, cut it into small pieces, and crush it to a pulp with the rocking-board. To the mass they add a gourdful of sweet potato and strain it through a sieve into a jar. A little cane molasses speeds up the fermentation.

Paiauarú is made in the following way. A sufficient quantity of manioc cakes is made, the cakes being baked in the oven until slightly burnt on the surface, when they are placed in a wide-meshed basket and dipped for an instant into hot water. The dough, about two or three fingers thick, is then spread out on banana

leaves laid on the floor of the house. Dry, pulverized leaves (*maniva*) of a certain 273
kind of manioc are sprinkled on this dough, and banana leaves are placed on top. After two or three days, when the dough is uncovered, it is crusted over with a thick layer of white mould, in which may be seen the contours of the maniva leaves. The dough, which by now has a strong, sweet taste, is cut into strips and placed in a jar, where, little by little, it exudes a liquid that in color and taste somewhat resembles a bad port wine. In time this liquor becomes harsh, corrosive, and strongly intoxicating. At feasts it is served only in individual, small, long gourds [415]
and, since the available quantity is generally not great, only to persons of a [554]
certain distinction.

To prepare paiauarú proper, the women lift the dough from its storage place in the jar and, mixing it with water, strain it into another jar, from which it is dipped in gourds to serve the guests.

The preparation of beverages is an exclusively feminine task. Care is taken to [462]
prohibit a pregnant women from taking part, since her participation would ruin [843]
the product.

No one serves himself with his own hands except the women in charge of the 576
jars. At all the celebrations there is a "server"—generally the uncle of the child or girl who is being feted or even a closer relative—whose function is to serve the 273
full gourds to the guests, one by one, when they are seated, or to wait on them if while dancing they pass in front of the jars, thereby indicating their desire to drink. The supply of water for filtering drinks is also entrusted to the server.

To me paiauarú has a disagreeable taste of fermentation and rot, the fibers 273
contained in it making it even more disgusting. The Indians, however, drink it with enormous satisfaction. Becoming drunk, as often happens, they vomit, wash the mouth with water, and continue to swill. If the beverage is to be kept in a "new" jar, used for the first time, they take care to call in the shaman, *pagé*, to remove with gestures any invisible substance that might blind those drinking [751]
from the container.

Besides these three beverages, there are still other fermented drinks, which are, however, rarely prepared, such as dĕdne-čį'į from cane (dĕ'dne) juice boiled and fermented in a jar; ʊi'-čį'į, a sort of chicha made from yam tubers; a drink made of crushed pineapple, which after two days in the jar becomes potent but is also taken unfermented as a refreshment; and another drink, pʊruru'ka, made from boiled and fermented bananas.

Many of the men are today greatly addicted to cane rum, *caxaça*, which they 273
purchase or receive as "treats" in the Neobrazilian establishments. One of the 177
axioms against which no one on the Solimões will argue is: "Sem caxaça o indio naõ trabalha" ("Without rum the Indian won't work"). The worst influence is 648
naturally exercised by the sugar-cane establishments that have rum stills and where the work is done almost exclusively by Indians. Some owners purposely get the Indians drunk in order to facilitate their exploitation.

In Belém I saw the cashier of one place, an incorrigible sot, ply women and girls with rum merely because it gave him pleasuire to seem them blind drunk. The itinerant peddlers, too, in order to persuade Indians for their own purposes, habitually initiate the haggling with a glass of rum. On the other hand, neither 123

123 the botanist Ricardo Fróes (who was with the Tukuna in 1941 at the same time I was)[illegible] nor I ever gave rum to the Tukuna, yet they never failed us in the innumerable times we put our trust in them. We paid them promptly and properly for services rendered, thus gaining the enmity of the patrões and traders, who thought that we were undermining their interests by "leading the Indians into bad habits."

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[114] [illegible] Ricardo de Lemos Fróes, botanist also of the expedition to the upper Rio Negro country in 1945, directed by Felisberto Camargo, under the auspices of the Instituto Agronômico do Norte, Belém do Pará.—Trans.

# IV. APPAREL AND ORNAMENT

## CLOTHING

IN GENERAL the Tukuna of today wear the same poor sort of apparel as the Neo- 291
brazilians of the same region, but many of them also have quite regular clothes,
some of which they make themselves from purchased material. Their ambition is [177]
to possess also a felt hat and a pair of shoes, although even under the best con-
ditions shoes incommode them horribly, and few own them. Their best clothing is
carefully kept for festive occasions. On workdays they wear only the oldest and [515]
most patched fragments, which, though ragged, are not dirty, for the Tukuna will
not tolerate the stench of filthy garments.

Even today the women of the igarapés will walk about the house or clearing naked from the waist up, and the men, when going to hunt, wear only an old, torn pair of trousers; sometimes they hitch them up by the belt to form a sort of loincloth. The children go naked until about five years of age.

The reports of the ancient dress vary. The earliest observer, Padre Monteiro 291
Noronha in 1768, states: "The women have no modesty at all; the men still cover 175
the parts destined for procreation with wide fringes of thread twisted from a
certain white tow which they obtain from tree bark."[1] According to Tessmann, the
men went completely naked, with the sexual parts in natural position, whereas
the women used an unpainted, triangular piece of tururí cloth (*Ficusbastzeug*).
Apparently this account of the men's attire requires revision. Actually, the glans
was tucked beneath the waist belt. This custom was not only confirmed by my
informants but is also mentioned in the culture-hero legend, which tells of *e'*pi:
"He pulls his penis from behind the waist belt and dances about the fire. . . . With [773]
this his penis was shaken up. tëčiarịnʊị' saw this from her hiding place and could [539
not resist laughing." (See p. 127.)

The festive attire of the men was composed of two small semicircular tangas, 292
one in front and one in back. These were made of painted white tururí cloth just
like those worn today by the boys during the rites of passage, *ceremonias de
passagem* (pl. 12, *m*). It is probably this garment to which Spix refers as "einen
zierlichen Gürtel aus Bast," and which Henry Lister Maw calls "a belt of bark
round the waist."[2] In Spix's plate, however, the Tukuna—except one who is com-
pletely nude, with the penis in natural position—are all dressed in a nondescript
cloth.

According to Castelnau, "une feuille est fixée autour des reins."[3] The plate in 291
the second volume of Bates's work—probably, in spite of some obvious errors, the
best illustration of the Tukuna of early times—shows men and women with a
tanga hanging in front of a thick belt. In Barbosa Rodrígues' illustration[4] the
Indian male wears over the sexual parts a small covering, which is not clear in the
plate. The text mentions "bands of the same textile [cotton] with which they
cover the sexual parts."

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[1] Monteiro Noronha, Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará, § 140.
[2] Maw, p. 211.
[3] Castelnau, 5:45.
[4] Barbosa Rodrígues, Ticunas, p. 52.

301 Two other items, of purely ornamental character, were apparently part of the ancient daily dress of the men: a necklace of monkey or jaguar teeth and arm-bands decorated with feathers. In Spix's plate these are not shown, but Henry Lister Maw writes of "some rows of teeth round the neck and some feathers on his arms." Castelnau describes them as follows:

> ... la plupart d'entre eux portent aux bras de très *curieux* bracelets, qui sont fait d'un bouquet de plumes en *forme de* rou, d'une belle couleur orange, et qui proviennent de la queue d'une espèce d'Acari; ils les surmontent d'une outre [*sic*] bouquet de plumes flottantes arrachées aux ailes du Savacou, derrière lesquelles paraissent les longues pennes de la queue de l'Ar[illegible]ouge. On voyait au cou de quelques uns un double collier de dents de tigre ou de singe.[8]

In Marcoy's plate, the Tukuna wear feathered arm bands (of cotton, according to the text) and a four-strand necklace of monkey teeth. In Barbosa Rodrígues' plate, arm bands also appear, as well as a double necklace of teeth: "The men wear great necklaces of pig's teeth . . . and, on feast days, some arm bands made of macaw feathers, the arm bands proper being of small feathers of the scarlet macaw, and the ornaments being of blue and yellow tail feathers from the canindé macaw." Even today, the girls use similar arm bands during the puberty cere- [881] mony; the boys wear arm bands and necklaces of teeth in the hair-plucking and [286] -clipping ceremony. Nowadays the ribbon of the arm band is mostly made of tucum thread woven or plaited on a small frame of rods (pl. 11, *b*).

291 Women's dress was formerly a very short section of cotton cloth around the hips. In 1929 I knew an Indian woman who was the only one who still wore this regularly, but the girls used it until a few years ago for the puberty ceremony (pl. 12, *d*). This cloth (napa'), measuring 105 by 36 cm., was of a relatively thin and coarse woven cotton cloth decorated with some longitudinal stripes of black.

These cloths, as well as the slings for carrying infants, are woven on a vertical, 286 rectangular frame of rods (na:'pavëru), the threads of the warp being passed over the horizontal rods. The alternate raising of odd and even threads (*Fachbildung*) is accomplished by means of a system of threads (na:-a'pëtjna, "navel"). (See pl. 8, *c*.) The woof is rolled over a small stick and spread apart with a wooden knife (tuë'përu). Tessmann denies that the Tukuna knew the art of weaving,[9] but even Marcoy mentions the tanga, and Barbosa Rodrígues writes of "a large tanga woven of cotton or turury which encircles the hips."

Rodrígues also reproduces the feather head ornament the men used to wear, 301 which today has completely disappeared, describing it as follows: ". . . a large feathered forehead band of the wings of the same macaw [*canindé*] edged with [297] tiny red feathers and completed by four or five long tail feathers of the scarlet macaw in front." The plate shows this piece as a circlet of clipped feathers about twelve centimeters long, fastened together and mounted on a narrow band of some woven material, encircling the head; there are four very long feathers curving to the rear.

According to Tessmann, the headdress, called *nabátu* (i.e., na:-patëe), was made 292 of the *Scheelea* (?) palm and feathers. My informants said this piece was a cotton bonnet with short toucan feathers attached to the woven material; it was used

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[8] Castelnau, *loc. cit.*
[9] Tessmann, p. 561.

only by chiefs, the last who wore it being the maternal grandfather of my informant Calixto daueru'kį. This is evidently the same object that Bates describes: 292
"The chief wears a head-dress or cap made by fixing the breast feathers of the Toucan on a web of Bromelia twine, with erect tail plumes of macaws rising from the crown." In his plate, the man leaning against a house post is evidently the chief with his regalia. [237]

## ARTIFICIAL BODY DEFORMATION

The manner of cutting the hair was formerly the same for both sexes. It was trimmed straight across the forehead just above the eyebrows, the rest, which was never cut, being allowed to fall free to the shoulders and sides. All old portraits confirm this. For work, the men rolled up their long hair in back, confining it by means of a twist of hair from below the bun. Others braided it into a pigtail, rolling this up and securing it with a strip of envira. 302

The hair was smoothed with a small comb (tụ:/mį°), the teeth of which, made from the frondstalk of the anajá palm, were fastened by fibres interlaced ornamentally between two pairs of twigs. The last Indian who knew how to make these combs died a few years ago. Today the Tukuna wear their hair in Neobrazilian style and comb it with purchased combs. A few Indian youths follow the custom of allowing their hair to grow exaggeratedly over the forehead and combing, or rather tossing, it all to one side. The beard is not plucked, and thick eyebrows are considered handsome. [413] [177] [826]

Many Indians, especially the girls and children, are never completely free from lice, which, however, are not permitted to increase too much but are scrupulously captured and immediately eaten. But there are many individuals of both sexes who carefully keep themselves free of these parasites. 515

*Ear piercing.*—Formerly the Tukuna pierced the ear lobes of girls as often as those of boys, but nowadays only boys undergo the operation (paiči'ni). It is performed during the same ceremony in which the hair is plucked out from children, which formerly took place when the child was two years old; today it occurs at four years of age or over, the implement being a needle made of a bone of the parauacú monkey. The child's paternal aunt pierces the lobe with the instrument, while another relative grasps the point as it emerges on the other side and finishes drawing it through. In the hole thus made they insert a cotton cord and apply a bit of crushed round pepper (më'ë). No diet is imposed upon the victim, but he is prohibited from fighting with his companions lest the puncture suppurate and [the boy is told] become "the size of the head of the one with whom you fought." 304 852

Formerly, both sexes commonly put into the hole small plates of white wood (*ochroma*, according to Tessmann). On ceremonial occasions they wore in the ears small wands, the tips in front decorated with the red and black feathers of a small bird, the pɔre'në, the other end encircled by heron plumes. From this wand there hung a small plate of brass (pë'ru-pë'ru), half-moon shaped for the men (like a mirică, fig. 4, *a*), triangular for the women. I do not know of what material these small plates were made before the Tukuna knew of brass. Even today the girls use these ear decorations at puberty ceremonies (pl. 12, *k*). 301 [237]

304 [301] *Piercing of the septum.*—The Tukuna have largely abandoned the practice of piercing the septum, which accompanied perforation of the ear lobes. When they pierced it, they wore in the hole a wand of reed or canna brava called vẽ-ẽra'ñ (from vẽ, introduce; rań, nose).

[177] *Tooth filing.*—The Tukuna custom, which today has become quite common, of filing to points the upper incisors and, more rarely, the lower as well appear have been acquired by contact with the Neobrazilians. Yet the mother of one of my informants condemned the practice as improper and ugly and said that this operation was designed to prevent caries, which forms easily between the teeth—an explanation which is perhaps a secondary rationalization.

[386] *Tattooing.*—The question of primitive tattooing among the Tukuna is difficult to settle satisfactorily; some writers probably took for tattooing what was actually only painting with the juice of the genipa (*Genipa americana*), which is still widely used today.

304 531 114 Padre Monteiro Noronha, the first author to devote a small chapter to the tribe, says that they "have the same strokes [as their neighbors the Caca-tapiiya: a wide black stroke, curled at the tip, which begins next to the nose and ends at the sides of both ears] but narrower and shorter." Martius mentions "eine oder zwei schmale, quer über das Gesicht laufende, tätowierte Linien. Doch findet sich dieses Merkmal keineswegs gleichmässig." Castelnau writes: "D'autres avaient sur les joues deux lignes noires transversales," without indicating whether the lines are painted or tattooed.

One of Marcoy's plates shows a male Tukuna with a double stroke or line in the shape of a loop that begins next to the ear and ends in a small cross on the cheek with an extension to the corner of the mouth. Bates writes: "Both men and women are tattooed, the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short, straight lines on the face." His illustration represents the Indians with two short, parallel lines on each cheek, extending slightly to the side of the nose. Orton, who as far as the Tukuna are concerned seems to have copied Bates, describes them as "tattooed in numbers of short, straight lines on the face." Lastly, the Tukuna of Barbosa Rodrígues has on each cheek a curved line (the curvature pointing downward) from the nose to the ear, and another almost parallel line that begins at the corner of the mouth. There is no indication whether these are painted or tattooed.

304 [177] Today there is not a single Tukuna with tattoo on the face, the bit that appears on their arms being an imitation of Neobrazilians.

304 171 531 According to Nino, my best Tukuna informant, tattooing came to the tribe from the čuʼmana (Yumána) Indians. These people, however, used an oval network pattern surrounding the mouth, with ramifications of the design extending to the ears. Nino told me that the members of the macaw clans, čaraʼ and vɔɔʼ, used formerly to tattoo the cheeks in imitation of the markings of macaws. The lines of the design were first drawn in by burnt *cicantã* resin and were then punctured by a needle.

304 531 Another informant told me that "those who were learned" had the figure of a crayfish, *caranguejo*, and a scorpion tattooed on the forearm or on the back of the hand, and that the dye was the juice of a plant called buʼrẽ (see p. 42).

*Circumcision.*—Another practice which today cannot be properly explained is circumcision. In my opinion, all the references to this custom are based on the account of Ribeiro de Sampaio, who saw the Tukuna briefly in 1774 and repeats a résumé of data obtained by Padre Monteiro Noronha in 1768. 304 114

Monteiro Noronha says:

> A few days after birth children of both sexes are circumcised by their mothers, who are charged with this operation. The males have the tip of the prepuce and the lower ligature which secures the glans cut; the females the exterior excrescence [clitoris?]; [but] for a clearer description of this practice the interest of curiosity must bow to the prejudice of modesty.

The report is explicit, at least as regards the male sex, but if it is as inaccurate as some of the accounts of this same author on animism and idolatry, it is of little value.

Nowadays, at least, there is not the slightest remembrance of male circumcision, and, although the Brazilian Tukuna recall the corresponding operation as being formerly performed on girls, they themselves assert only that this custom once existed—and perhaps even still exists—among their Peruvian congeners. The reference is probably to an excision of the *labia minora*, made for reasons of hygiene, as they indicated to me, shortly after the child is born. My informants said they would regard the appearance of a woman so circumcised as disgusting. 304 [171]

# V. ART

## SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

532 517 IN THE FIELD of native art the Tukuna have not only preserved the traditions of their ancestors but have even developed them. Above all, the Tukuna have a curious bent toward sculpture. An Indian, seeing a large, misshapen tree trunk floating near the edge of a lake, will repair to his canoe, lay hands on his hatchet, and give the log the outlines of an enormous alligator. Observing a rounded termites' nest hanging from a high branch bent over the igapó, he will stop, climb up with his machete, and, with perilous acrobatics, transform it into the horrid grimace of a demon. Any knot on a thick tree trunk within reach of his hands invariably receives similar treatment. A Tukuna rubber gatherer I once saw had decorated his smoking hearth with plastic figures of animals. (See p. 48.)

The sculptured figures of men and women (pl. 9, *b*) made of muirapiranga, an extremely heavy wood, toys for children, and so forth, are not very artistic; but one finds among the representations of animals (pl. 9, *c*, *d*) very handsome works of art, starting with small stools in the form of turtles or bats. The Tukuna taste for sculpture, however, is displayed more strikingly in two classes of objects: dance staves and necklaces of figurines from tucumã palm nuts.

532 293 The dance staves (də:ʼpa), made of a light, white wood and from one to one and a half meters long, are used at ceremonies, the same staff never being used on two occasions. They are carried over the left shoulder; the lower end generally has a hook or button from which is suspended a small drum to be struck with the right hand. The upper part of the staff, which rests on the shoulder, has usually four planed surfaces and is decorated by one or more carved figures, interspersed with geometric designs, the whole being painted in bright colors (pl. 14, *a–f*).

532 301 The figurines of the necklaces are carved of tucumã palm nuts (*Astrocaryum* sp.), generally tucumã piranga, but sometimes ordinary tucumã or anajá nuts (*Maximiliana regia*) are used. The first two have a surface of brilliant jet, the third is a clear, brown color. The figures are of men firing with a shotgun, women with children, a girl in the puberty-ceremony costume, pairs of dancers, or an infinity of animals, from the crab louse (*úra*) to the jaguar. These little figurines, separated only by rows of seeds or glass beads, make very striking necklaces (pl. 13).

532 463 In the Igarapé de São Jeronymo there are a brother and sister, Flavio piʼẽ and Raimunda ęʼkįrane, thirty and thirty-five years old, respectively, who are the best artists in this line. Their products are sought by neighboring Indians and by those of other igarapés, where their motifs are later imitated. Raimunda does not limit herself to copying live models; she showed me a goodly number of figurines which were pure fantasy, and others which she "saw in a dream." For his part, piʼẽ likes to reproduce motifs seen in prints of civilized origin. Thus, he carved a dragon, the trade-mark of a certain marketed product, and the United States eagle, complete with the shield of stars and stripes on its breast.

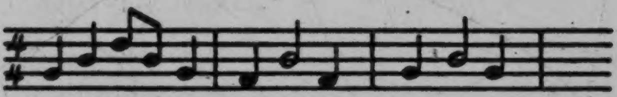
531 The Tukuna produce far less painting than sculpture, partly because of their extremely primitive technique, for the Tukuna have not yet invented or adopted

the brush. In its place they use the tips of wood, small rulers, the back of a knife, 531 or even the finger tips, when they do not smear the coloring plant directly on the object to be decorated. All the pigments are vegetable dyes. The juice of one fleshy 386 fruit (T., na'iᵉkʊ) furnishes a dark violet which, upon contact with iron, changes into a clear blue. A bright yellow is obtained from the root of the *açafrôa* (*Amaryllis* sp.). The crushed leaves of a jungle plant called bʊ'rẽ provides green; urucú seeds give a bright red. The fresh colors give a brilliant appearance; they are applied indiscriminately and arbitrarily, without the slightest regard to the natural color of the object reproduced. The best products of Tukuna art are the tururí (bark cloth) costumes of the masqueraders (pls. 16, 17, 18).

## MUSIC

Even less developed than Tukuna sculpture and painting are their songs and musical instruments. 533 The Tukuna sing in an almost imperceptible manner; unless one observed the moving lips one would not know that they were singing, since the sound of their voices is completely muffled by the din of the drums and rattles. At celebrations, certain women were pointed out to me as reputedly good singers, and, in the company of others, they sang expressly for me. Even though they were at a distance of three handbreadths from my ear, I could hardly hear the song. The men sing in equally muted fashion and in falsetto.

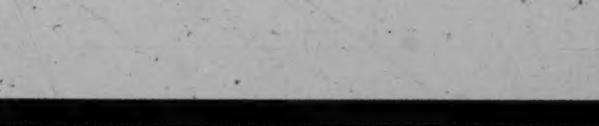
The music is composed sometimes of only two notes infinitely repeated; at other times the melody is a little more varied:



The Tukuna have a very peculiar instrument, which at first glance appears to 534 be a horn, of paxiuba wood, 6½ m. long and slightly conical in the upper part. Its diameter varies from 12 cm. at the mouth to 5 cm. at the mouthpiece. This instrument is called tɔ'/kį, and to see it is taboo for women and the uninitiated (na'-ʊtį ya tɔ'/kį, "the uaricána is taboo"). The tɔ'/kį is not, however, a wind instrument but a megaphone through which one sings and speaks.

The companion to the tɔ'/kį is the bʊ'/bʊ, a true conical horn from 4 to 6 m. long, made from a long strip of bark of the dʊ:'ru tree, rolled into a spiral and secured by two lateral rods tied along the entire length of the instrument. In the lingua geral, the name uaricána is applied to both the tɔ'/kį and the bʊ'/bʊ. The sound of the bʊ'/bʊ, though loud, is suave and agreeable, and its music, the best the Tukuna have, resembles the very slow playing of a trumpet:

[533]



534 A piston flute, tü'kutị (fig. 7, *a*), made from the bark of *cipó mucuná* (*Mucuna* sp.), completes this group of wind instruments. The tube is 40 cm. long by 2 cm. in diameter; the piston is a small rod with a wad of *embira* (envira) at one end.

Two instruments, used by both sexes, invariably accompany any and all ceremonial acts: the small drum and the rattle stick. The first, tʊ:ˈtʊ (pl. 14, *i*) is clearly European. The body is a short cylinder of *ôca de ambaúva* wood (*Cecropia* sp.) from 20 to 30 cm. in diameter. Each end is covered with the dry skin of the guariba monkey or the *surubim* pegged down by a hoop. The two hoops are wedged fast by another pair of hoops placed over them and connected by zigzag cords. A cord stretched tightly across the drumhead, sometimes with a bead or small piece of metal tied in the center, hums when the drum is struck. The instrument hangs by a loop of cord from the end of the dance staff or dangles from the left hand. The beat, produced with only one drumstick (tʊ:tʊ-[illegible]rị-pa ˈrʊˈịⁿ) about a hand-

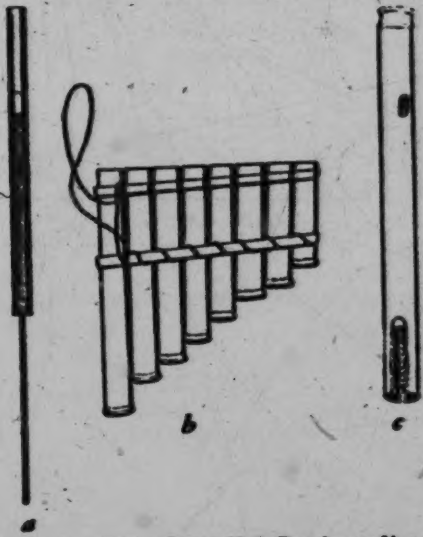


Fig. 7. Musical instruments. *a*. Piston flute, × 1/5. *b*. Panpipes, × 1/4. *c*. Bamboo horn, × 1/12.

[533] breadth in size, made of either muirapiranga wood or bone, is simple and measured marking the rhythm of the dance but not that of the chant, which is carried on independently of the drumbeat.

534 481 177 Anyone observing the Tukuna marching, to the sound of the drum, with measured step in lines of two or three, one behind the other, with the dance staves over their shoulders, cannot but notice the resemblance to the marching of soldiers. I consider it quite possible that the Tukuna formation is nothing more than an imitation of the soldiers' march, adopted, together with the military snare drum, from the frequent occasions when these Indians attended military exercises at Fort Tabatinga, founded in 1776.

534 114 It is strange that neither the drum nor the dance staff, which are seen today in all the houses and are indispensable at any feast, is mentioned by any of the writers

who attended earlier Tukuna ceremonies.[1] Maw writes that the arrival of the 534
masked dancers "was announced by a noise (I think by beating a kind of a drum)" 114
and only Bates, in 1857, speaks of a "monotonous see-saw and stamping dance
accompanied by singing and drumming."[2]

There are no drums or dance staves in the illustration "Maskenzug der Ticunas"
in Spix's atlas, nor are there any in Bates's. However, the European-type drum [177]
was spread among tribes to the north of the Amazon, whence it could have come
to the Tukuna through other Indians; and Spix attended a dance among the Pasé
and Yuirɨ' that he characterized as a "nationalen Militärmarsch."[3] However, in
this place there was also a foreign military detachment.

Spix gives us an indication of what was probably the original form of the Tukuna drum. Describing the entrance of the masked dancers, he writes: "Den Beschluss machte ein altes hässliches, ganz schwarz bemaltes Weib welches auf einer getrockneten Schilkrötenschale einen einförmigen Tact schlug."[4] 534

Even today this type of drum, called pɔ:'vi, or tɔri'—from tracajá, "turtle," [321]
because it is always made of turtle shell—is used along with the other wood-and-
leather drum, although only for specific ceremonies and in a way which differs from
that shown in Spix's illustration. Furthermore, the shell is usually much larger,
the ones in Spix's plate being from 50 to 60 cm. long. A rod for striking the drum
is securely tied on it in a horizontal position. The drum, with the plastron facing
up, is hung horizontally from the house roof, about 1 m. from the ground, the two
ends of the rod being held by two men, one of whom handles the drumstick while
the other shakes the rattle. The head of the drumstick is wrapped in tururí bark
cloth. Grasping the rod of the drum, the two men dance four paces to the front [535]
and four to the rear. Behind them dance the others.

The text of the chants sung on this occasion refers to the turtle and consists of 533
the repetition of a few words: [539]

1. The turtle is our child.
2. The soft place in the black mud.
3. The cove of the river of half-white water.
4. The grey ambaúvas are his resting place.
5. Like the royal hawk I seize my turtle.
6. His lake has muddied [troubled] water.

and so forth. A strange element is the use of Tupí words in these chants: river, [192]
panana' (Tupí, parana'; Tukuna, ta/tɨ), and royal hawk, virava' (Tupí, wɨra-
wasu'; Tukuna, da:vɨ).

At a fixed moment the two men remove the drum from the cord and, holding it [535]
by the ends of the rod, take a few turns with it about the house where the feast is
being celebrated, accompanied by the other dancers. This instrument, as well as
the dance form, appears to me to be entirely aboriginal.

The large xylophone (slit drums), *torocána* in the lingua geral, were never used 534
by the Tukuna, who only know of them from the Witóto and Miránya.

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[1] Spix and Martius, p. 1188; Maw, p. 220.
[2] Bates, 2:405.
[3] Spix and Martius, p. 1186.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1188.

202 As a signal of alarm they strike blows with the *olho do terçado*, "eye of the machete,"* on the keel or sides of an overturned canoe, or against a leaning plank.

534 The rattle stick is a substitute for the gourd rattle, *maracá*, which is completely unknown among the Tukuna. It is a crude stick, retaining its bark, about 1 m. or more in length and from 2 to 3 cm. thick. The rattles are tied to the lower third. It is not used in the "military march" mentioned above, but it is never absent from any other ceremony. The beat is often at variance with the measure of the drum, owing to its generally much slower tempo.

The rattles are almost always made of the hulls of one of two species of vegetable: the fruit of the *auaí* (*Thevetia nerifolia;* l.g., auaí, T., a:'ru), the other and smaller one called in Tukuna kɔ'/taru (l.g., *auahy do igapó*). The hulls are suspended from a narrow web plaited from tucum fiber. The masked dancers also carry these hulls attached to the ends of their staves and spears, and even tied below the knee.

An instrument of masculine use, which I do not know whether to consider a variation of the rattle stick or a "stamping tube," is the ba:'/ma, an enormous, thick reed (l.g., tazuaruçú; *Guadua superba* Hub.) about 2½ m. or more long (pl. [532] 14, *g*). The upper end, in the shape of a caiman's mouth, is open to a depth of 20 to 30 cm. This mouth is toothed in the masculine and smooth in the feminine specimens. Below the mouth is the small face of a demon, similar to those of the masks, and below this are tied rattles. The rest of the piece is decorated with a few belts [237] of urucú on which are glued hawk feathers.

533 The ba:'/ma are always used in pairs, male and female. Two players dance, one in front of the other, each holding his ba:'/ma in both hands and beating the ground with the lower end, the two instruments being crossed. Since the internal nodes are not removed, the sound is negligible. Like the turtleshell drum, the ba:'/ma is used exclusively by certain clans; it also figures in the legend of the culture heroes.

534 Used in conjunction with the ba:'/ma, there are also the kəᵃ'iri, horns of thick bamboo some 70 cm. or more in length and 6 cm. in diameter. One end of the instrument is sealed by a node; the other is open and cut into the shape of a caiman's [532] mouth, exactly like that of the ba:'/ma. Like the latter, the kəᵃ'iri are decorated with urucú and hawk plumage. About 15 cm. from the closed end there is a rectangular opening through which one blows into the instrument to produce its single note. It is used only on special occasions—by both sexes and always by three couples. Like the ba:'/ma, the kəᵃ'iri are male and female.

Aside from these instruments of ceremonial use there are few musical instruments; such as there are are somewhat suspect as aboriginal instruments or are clearly post-Columbian. Without doubt the flute (vəvë'ru), made from royal-hawk [237] bone (*Harpya destructor*, L.) is aboriginal, since the hawk occurs in a legend of the culture heroes (see p. 125). It is blown into from one end and has five holes for the fingers—four grouped together on the anterior side and one opposite them on the lower surface. Another flute, cited by Tessmann, is made of bamboo, with two holes close to the lower end; a specimen of this type is in the Berlin Museum. [171] A third flute, with more holes, is just like that used by the Neobrazilian population of the region, but I do not know which was borrowed from whom.

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* This refers to the iron ring helving the blade to the grip.—Trans.

As Tessmann has already observed, there are no transversal flutes or clarinets 534
of the type known as *torê*. A signal horn made of a simple piece of thick bamboo
with a lateral opening, closed on one side and open on the other, is invariably [202]
carried in the canoe for signaling the arrival of people and for calling them.

Panpipes commonly consist of eight tubes of bamboo (the longest being 15 cm.), joined by two pairs of rattan lashings (fig. 7, *b*). Panpipes are not played in pairs. The Tukuna name for them is čë'kʊ or dʊre'tʊ (Loreto). Loreto is the name of a
sub-Andean department of Peru, pronounced in the Tukuna manner "dʊre'tʊ" [177]
which makes one suppose that the instrument has come from that region.

There is a kind of ocarina (pʊɨ'čane) made from the seed of the *umarí* (*Poraqueiba* sp.), and a clay whistle in the shape of a frog (vɔ:'tavë, a name which imitates the frog's croak). Tessmann erroneously calls it *tó'ke*,[6] which is actually the name of a large megaphone (tɔ'/kɨ).

The Tukuna learned from the Neobrazilians not only how to play the violin but 534
also how to make it, and on the Rio Jacurapá there was an Indian whose violins 177
were sought after by civilized persons—until the authorities of São Paulo de Olivença ordered his arrest for tax evasion (see p. 138). In spite of the attraction this instrument has for the Tukuna, they produce very little music from it, never playing their tribal melodies but only those which they learn from festivities of Neobrazilians in the region, who, for their part, are far from possessing the musical talent of the northeastern Brazilians.

## POTTERY

One finds evidence in the kitchen that the Tukuna still produce pottery. This art 323
is principally practiced by women, but not exclusively so, for many men also perform this task to perfection, whereas many women never devote themselves to it. [462]

In all the igarapés inhabited by the Tukûna, a plastic potters' clay of good quality is found more or less frequently; it almost always occurs in the sloughs at the [317]
foot of the high bluffs along the river. This raw material is accorded a certain
respect, since its patron is an aquatic monster, dyë'vaë, which at times presents [776]
itself in the form of the western rainbow.

The clay is said to become useless if a pregnant woman touches or even ap- [843]
proaches it: it will not bind, and the jars, on drying, will shatter into pieces. It is considered very dangerous for a woman in this condition to go to the bank to fetch clay, as illustrated by the following legend.[7]

> Once, a group of women went to a bank to collect clay for pottery. A woman big with child 539
> insisted on accompanying them in spite of the others counseling her not to. The others had already dug out the clay that they needed and had piled it on the bank, where they were still standing when the pregnant woman, seeing nothing suspicious, went down to dig clay, too. She squatted down in the middle of the pit, which was half-filled with water, and took out clay with both hands. Suddenly, dyë'vaë, down at the bottom, allowed a muffled roar to be heard. The women on the bank heard it and cried out: "The owner of the clay is angry! Come up quickly!"
>
> "What is the matter?" replied the pregnant one. "I heard nothing." And she continued to dig. She had just taken out a good quantity of clay when a muffled thunderclap was heard.

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[6] Tessmann, p. 561.

[7] Cf. the legend of tau/čipë, p. 120.

539 "Come up, come up!" screamed her companions. But she replied: "It is nothing. A thunderstorm is approaching." But when she still continued, a stronger clap of thunder was heard. Then, frightened, she attempted to get out of the clay pit, but the furious dyö'vaĕ seized her, pulled her to the bottom, and she was never seen again.

323 *Ceramic technique.*—The clay, at first a yellowish gray, is mixed with a large percentage of husk ash of the *caraipe* (T., pʊ'ru),[9] which gives it a darker color.

The potter works with the material on top of a wooden slab, on which is placed a round, green leaf of a sort of liana called eči-pa'tį, one of the Menispermaceae. On the small base of all Tukuna vases one always notes the impressions of the leaf veins of this plant. After making this small, circular, bottom piece, the potter constructs the vase, raising the sides by laying hoops of clay one on top of the other and pressing them together with the fingers (pl. 7, *f*). The sides are then scraped to the desired thickness with a rectangular piece of gourd rounded at the corners, or with the plug of a snail shell, and the lip of the vase is smoothed with a piece of moistened fungus (*orelha de pau*).

[415]

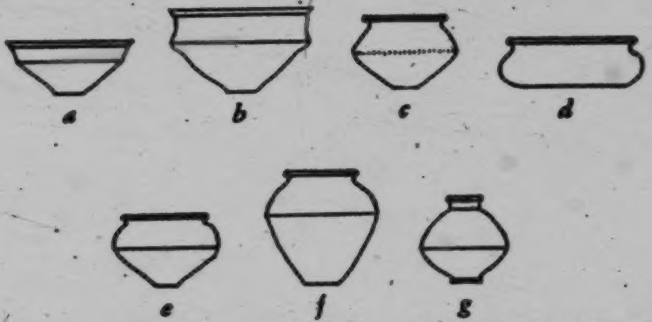

Fig. 8. Pottery. *a, b.* Large bowls, × 2/15. *c, d.* Pots, × 2/15. *e, f.* Jars, × 1/15. *g.* Jug, × 1/15.

[237]

The potter, coming to the widest part of the vase, props it up so that the still soft sides will not fall in through their own weight; she uses small supports of the frondstalk of the burity palm, or a hoop, with attached supports, made from a piece of the stalk. Propped up in this way, the piece is left to dry slowly in the shade. After the clay has become so firm that the shoring may be dispensed with, the surface of the piece is carefully polished with a seed stone of the anajá palm.

The ware is fired in the yard in an inverted position, covered with fine kindling and pieces of dry tree bark.

323
531 The pots (buetë'rë), when not completely lacking in decoration, show rows of impressions below the lip or at the point of greatest diameter (fig. 8, *c, d*). The plates and bowls, both called čuri in Tukuna, never have handles. Pots and igaçabas (T., barį', jars for fermented drinks) are almost always painted with a white or gray mineral base with the designs in red (urucú), which turns maroon after firing.

The water jugs, tęⁿ'įⁿ (fig. 8, *g*; pl. 6, *b*), are globular or subglobular, with a short neck. The jars, which sometimes have a height of 80 cm. and an almost equal diameter, are conical in the lower part, subglobular in the upper. These are always

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[9] *Licania scabra* Hook, a wood rich in silicate.

painted with a meandering pattern of maroon on a white background; sometimes 323
there are also coarsely painted figures of people, animals, and plants. Sometimes, 531
though rarely, the surfaces of the jugs have also plastic decorations in the shape of animals—frogs, toads, lizards, and so forth—which give the impression of climbing up the belly of the piece (pl. 6, *c*). In a rubber-smoking hut made by a Tukuna
rubber gatherer (*seringueiro*), I once even saw a hearth decorated in this fashion. [314]
No Neobrazilian rubber gatherer ever felt the urge to give such an object an artistic aspect! Decoration, plastic as well as painted, is used principally on certain small vases serving as containers for trifles, on which the potters lavish all their artistic skill (pl. 6, *g*).

In elegance of form and purity of style of painted decorations the pottery of the Tukuna falls far short of the pottery of their neighbors, the Kokáma, and there is no evidence that it was formerly on a higher level than today.

# VI. CHARACTER AND SOCIAL LIFE

181 114 AT FIRST SIGHT the Tukuna appear to be a very peaceful, industrious, and good-tempered folk. Some writers, however, accuse them of laziness, the foremost of these being Ribeiro de Sampaio, who opens his description of the tribe in 1774 with the sentence: "São os Tecunas de hum natural preguiçozissimo" ("The Tukuna are of a most indolent temperament").[1] Martius speaks of their "indolence and innate intemperance."[2] Bates calls them "much more idle and debauched than the other Indians belonging to superior tribes,"[3] and on the following page he observes: "I found them a harmless, good-natured people." Orton repeats this judgment almost to the letter: "good-natured and ingenious . . . but they are idle and debauched."[4]

Herndon calls his Tukuna paddlers "even more lazy and careless than the Sarayaquinos,"[5] but he later reflects: "Poor fellows! They have been abused and maltreated so long that they are now insensible even to kindness." And again, "The Ticunas that I had with me, however, were far the laziest and most worthless people that I had hitherto had anything to do with."[6] But again this author remarks: "I believe that this [i.e., worthlessness] is not a characteristic of the tribe, for they seemed well enough under Father Flores at Caballococha, and they have generally a rather good reputation among the whites on the river. I imagine that the proximity of the garrison at Tabatinga has not a good effect upon their manners and morals."

Barbosa Rodrígues finally declares firmly: "In general they are hard workers and of a peaceful temperament. It is only the civilized white who drives them to it [retaliation] by persecution, rape, robbery or by maltreatment, since these qualities cannot be denied them in their wild state."

181 648 The fact is, that even today one encounters the most contradictory opinions of the Tukuna character, each opinion depending largely on the observer's own attitude toward the people. Until about thirty years ago, when rubber was fetching fabulous sums, the Tukuna were brutally tyrannized by their civilized masters, who usurped all of their lands and treated the Indians practically as slaves. [illegible] today there are in the region a few die-hards of this class of domineering squirearchs who arrogate to themselves the trusteeship of the Indians, as though it were their primordial right—indeed, almost duty—as self-appointed civilized persons. Now, however, their power is fast declining, and the Tukuna who recognize this are labeled "rebels," "insubordinate," and "loafers," because they refuse to work any longer under the old conditions; "thieves," because they feel that, even though they steal as much as possible from the Neobrazilians, they cannot possibly steal as much as the Neobrazilians have stolen from them; and "treacherous," because they will not suffer outrages and violences without retaliation.

123 181 I lived absolutely alone among the Tukuna for many months, and from the beginning I always felt completely at ease among them. Even before I became inti-

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[1] Ribeiro de Sampaio, Diario da viagem ... 1774 e 1775, § 212.
[2] Martius, 1:443.
[3] Bates, 2:401.
[4] Orton, p. 320.
[5] Herndon and Gibbon, 1:247.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

mate with them I was always treated courteously. For my canoe they offered more 123
paddlers than I needed. I used to leave my trunks open when I temporarily left
the house where I was a guest, the baggage containing articles coveted by the 181
Indians. They would rummage through my gear to the very bottom and knew
better than I what each piece contained, but during all this long period of living
among them, they robbed me of—two cigarettes! This was the experience likewise
of the botanist Ricardo Fróes, who, as has been said, also lived among them in
various localities for several months in 1941.

There are, therefore, certain persons toward whom the Tukuna feel a moral 609
obligation, but for this they must be convinced that the person with whom they
are dealing is incapable of lying to them or exploiting them, a conviction which
presupposes, on the part of the strangers, a frank and friendly attitude toward
the native culture.

However, with their own tribesmen they do not always consider similar conduct 578
absolutely obligatory, so that one finds examples of notorious hostility, ill will,
and even dishonesty. The Tukuna were exemplary in their honesty with Ricardo 123
Fróes and myself, but I was present once at a feast when an Indian ripped open 181
with his knife another man's sack of clothes, deliberately stealing them; and there [674]
are other confirmed thefts from houses during the Indian owners' absence.

Actually, under normal conditions the Tukuna are calm and pacific, but some
of them become insolent and dangerous when drunk. Frequently, at their drinking [273]
bouts at least one major quarrel occurs, and often there are injuries and fatalities.
At first I took these scenes only for the end products of old hatreds and resentments,
thinking that all these offenses and crimes had some serious motive, more or less
unknown, which the Indians concealed. But I was finally convinced that this was
not so. The Indians describe these affairs without constraint and in detail, but
when one inquires the reason for the disorder, "They fight because they want to"
is the only explanation that one obtains, or "So-and-so always fights when he is
drunk"; the event is thus sufficiently explained.

Strangely enough, a quarrel of this sort never broke out in my presence, though
I attended a good number of their drinking bouts. On one occasion an Indian armed
himself with a machete to attack another, but my fixing my eyes upon him with
the natural interest that the situation deserved was enough to make him pass the
weapon to the other and draw off. Accordingly, I believe that if at these affairs
a person were present who exercised some moral authority, all such quarrels could
be nipped in the bud. The trouble is, that among all these Tukuna there is appar- [692]
ently no one whose authority they will recognize. Their individualism, concretely [361]
expressed in their habit of living in isolated houses, and in the absence of any bond
except the blood tie, will not tolerate the intervention of a chief in their outbursts
of anger or in their personal problems.

I know of no other tribe in which one may observe such sudden transports of 578
fury and examples of lack of self-control as occur now and then among the Tukuna.
From childhood they differ from other Indians in this respect. They quarrel like 156
civilized children, and in their houses I have heard almost as much bellowing from 181
enraged youngsters as in Neobrazilian homes. I have observed little brothers, in
childish pranks, chasing each other with a machete or a firebrand. One day a little 683

156 girl nine years old and her brother of seven were at the door of their house. The
girl, amusing herself by killing minnows on the bank with a machete, cut herself
181 lightly on the leg and started to wail. The boy, seeing the alarmed father approaching
578 on the run, thought it best not to trust to the paternal judgment and, finding
his escape blocked, threw himself into the water and fled by swimming, although
683 he was entirely innocent. The father, seeing his blood-stained daughter and the
fleeing boy, concluded without further reflection that the latter had wounded his
sister. The boy was already out of reach, so the father seized a paddle weighing at
least three kilograms and without hesitation hurled it after the fugitive. The
missile struck the child's head, by the merest chance not killing him but opening
up a wide gash in his scalp. The father, still infuriated, ignored the possible
consequences, left the injured boy in the igapó, and returned to the house with
the girl. Only at dusk the mother heard the boy's sobs in the jungle and went out
to fetch him home.

An Indian of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, Cazemiro nʊʊᵃkɨ, flew into a temper
156 at his wife one day, unjustly suspecting that she had been unfaithful. Terrified
578 at her husband's rage, the woman fled into the jungle and could not bring herself
to return, no matter how often and persistently he called her. Then Cazemiro in
181 his fury set fire to the house and with his machete leveled all the fruit trees that
684 he himself had planted about it. A little later he made his peace with the woman,
but because their place had been destroyed, he and the woman were obliged to
move in with her parents until he had shamefacedly rebuilt it. I know of still
another instance of an Indian's destroying all his personal belongings with his
own hands.

More tragic than these imbecilities are the suicides committed in rage. In 1941
762 a woman, some thirty years old, who lived with her parents at Barreiras de Belém
156 went to the riverbank in a mood of drunken melancholy. There she drank a little
rum and bought another bottle, which she took to her mother. The latter replied
181 that the daughter could keep the rum; she wanted none of it. With no further
578 word the daughter proceeded to the neighboring garden clearing (*roça*), dissolved
fish drug (timbó) in a gourd of water, and drank it. Someone heard her
faint cry, but since no one suspected what she was doing, no importance was
attached to it, and it was not until later that the body of the suicide was found.

A week afterward, this same woman's nephew, called Beni, about twenty years old, also committed suicide in the same spot by drinking timbó. Before daybreak he had gone out to fish, returning about nine o'clock with a surubím, which he handed to his wife, a very young girl whom he had married just a short time before. Seeing that the little wife was not overeager to prepare the fish, he grew angry and finally struck her. His stepfather intervened, saying: "Well, and was it to have a woman to beat that you married?" This was enough to send Beni silently out of the house and into hiding, where he took the drug.

About the same time, another suicide occurred in Igarapé de Belém. A boy of sixteen returned with his relatives from a labor festival. He was not drunk, but when the canoe touched the bank, they noticed that he leaped ashore angry, for no perceptible reason. He ran up the slope above, entered the house, where he immediately mounted the platform (giráu), and flung himself under the mosquito

net. His mother and aunt, taking their burden baskets, went to fetch manioc 762
roots, which they had put to soak; the uncle was bathing near by. Aside from the 156
youth, there remained in the house only a little boy some seven years old. Sud- 181
denly the youth fell from the platform, which was about 2½ m. above the ground, 578
and for some time remained immobile on the floor. Then he said: "Why didst thou
quarrel with me? Now I shall leave!" He arose and took to the jungle. The little
boy followed him in bewilderment; but the youth, noticing him, left the trail and
hid himself. A little later he returned to the house, staggering, fell upon a box,
and there died of the poison he had taken.

There is one very serious motive for feuds and murder among the Tukuna: the 754
suspicion that certain persons are using their magical powers to the detriment of
others. Without exaggeration, this suspicion affects 10 per cent of the total population, with varying intensity; it is confirmed and accepted by some, denied by others. In the section on "Magic and Religion" I shall discuss this subject in more detail.

*Drunkenness.*—Drunkenness is the Tukuna's national vice and their only one. 733
At their feasts, men, women, and children drink, and perhaps half the men and
a tenth of the women and children become intoxicated. Many continue to dance even when drunk, beating a drum and singing without annoying anyone; but some become troublesome and offensive. Others, exclusively men, drink until they collapse into a hammock or in some corner, or even in the yard, where they vomit and sleep it off; still others grow quarrelsome, provoking more or less serious brawls that result in injuries or even deaths.

The small extent to which alcohol arouses the sexual instinct in Indians is 733
notable; the youths drink, dance, and beat drums with their companions through- 831
out the nights and days, apparently having no eyes for the girls, who in groups
of two to five are doing the same thing. I have never seen Tukuna youths, whether drunk or sober, fighting over girls.

However, at these parties, in some corner of the house or yard there is in-
variably a group of men, already more or less senile, who humor themselves with [522]
obscene jokes, accompanied by hoots of laughter and illustrative gestures, though
they never annoy the opposite sex with their nastiness.

*Industry.*—One cannot tax the Tukuna with being "most indolent," as did 181
Ribeiro de Sampaio; and the yarn about the Indian who lives with his family for 461
a whole week on a bunch of bananas, passing the entire time sleeping or swinging
in his hammock, appears quite different to a firsthand observer. [114]

Except for those who are on the road to ruin because of their dependence upon civilized establishments, above all on rum stills, the Tukuna maintain a stable economy in their own lives. Many of them through their own efforts succeed in obtaining such material improvements as good firearms, iron tools, and sufficient clothing—even sewing machines.

Unmarried youths work least—when they do not hire themselves out to the Neobrazilians—but girls and married couples are hardly ever idle except after sundown. Usually, whenever I sought out a Tukuna, it happened that nobody was at home, or at most, only the children were. It was necessary to wait until afternoon when the owners returned to the house from their work. The reason that

181 there are no Tukuna who sit around all week eating just bananas is because they
461 like, above all, to eat fish, which obliges them to go fishing almost every day;
sometimes the catch is small. Again, once in awhile, they wish to eat game, which
they can obtain only by extensive trips through the country.

The husband must clear the undergrowth and burn it for his plantation. The
462 house needs repairs, and his weapons and fishing tackle require constant attention.
He cuts and sews the clothes for his family, with remarkable ability, makes a canoe for his own use or to sell at a good price, and helps his wife weed the garden, make farinha, and fetch kindling or fruits from the jungle. The wife, who must take care of the children and kitchen, clean the house and clothing, spin tucum thread, make hammocks or baskets or pottery, obviously has no time for swinging in a hammock either. Furthermore, many take enormous pleasure in their plantations, spending the better part of the day there.

That the Tukuna are neither intellectually lazy nor obtuse in understanding is
192 proved by the many alien culture elements which they have adopted and assimi-
177 lated with real advantage to themselves: first, the ubá of the Omágua, then the casco of the Neobrazilians, in place of the small, primitive canoe of paxiuba barriguda; the mosquito net and subsequent modification of the house; the manufacture of manioc flour, which gives them an appreciable income; clothing, which is a necessity in a land infested by mosquitoes; firearms, sewing machines, and many other items of lesser importance.

All in all, most members of the tribe at least are free from that snobbishness which impels some Indians thoughtlessly to ape the Neobrazilians and to depreeate their own traditions. The Tukuna have preserved the purity of their own language, having adopted not more than two dozen words from the Portuguese, and there is no evidence of bastardization or decadence in the grammar.

The puberty ceremonies with their complicated ritual still persist today, and moiety exogamy continues to be rigorously maintained. Similarly, the religion of the Tukuna in its fundamental concepts has been kept free of Christian influence. This is why the Tukuna have survived to this day as a numerous tribe, with their own ethnic characteristics, whereas all the other tribes that were formerly their neighbors have disappeared.

### VISITS

574 In spite of their rebellious individualism, their occasional choleric outbreaks, and
their constant fear of witchcraft, the Tukuna are far from being unsociable folk.
484 Reciprocal visits are extremely frequent, and invitations to festive reunions are
at times so numerous that the recipient with the best will in the world cannot
attend them all. An Indian may suddenly feel the desire to visit an acquaintance,
friend, or relative, frequently one who dwells a few days' canoe journey away. He
loads his mosquito net, some tururí cloth, and clothing into a burden basket,
placing it in the canoe, together with a hamper of farinha, a cooking pot, some
gourds, and his fishing gear, and covering it all with a mat of banana leaves.
(Pl. 4.) Finally, the family also embarks—the dog, the parrot, and the tiny
574 monkey, too—and they voyage forth through the igarapés, sinks, and lakes. When
576 nearing the house of the person to whom the visit is being paid, the traveler
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announces his coming by the sound of his paddling, the strokes of which can be 574
heard from afar. He then draws his canoe inshore but remains seated in it for 576
about half an hour, without glancing at the house, while the host pays him not [484]
the slightest attention. Only later do visitor and host approach each other, the
former bringing his baggage to the house, in which there is always enough room
for him to be lodged without the slightest inconvenience to the inmates.

Formerly, the guest was accorded a type of martial reception, which Marcoy describes. When a visitor entered a house, all the men present seized their spears, pointing them toward the newcomer and pretending to bar the way. The guest, however, knowing the meaning of this procedure, pushed the weapons aside with his hands, entered, and seated himself in the first hammock. The owner of the house then asked: "Who art thou? Friend or enemy? Whence comest thou? What dost thou wish?" The answer was easily given, since the visitor had only come to trade and so forth. They say that in Peru this form of reception is still practiced.

The visit customarily lasts several days or even weeks, but does not grow burdensome to the host, since the guests bring all they need with which to provide their own food by hunting or fishing. More often than not, the owner of the house shares his meals with the visitors, who do likewise with the host's family.

## FESTIVALS

Gatherings by special invitation to selected individuals have much more social and 574
economic importance than personal visits have, whether these guests are invited
to participate in collective tasks of major importance—clearing a plantation, pre- 476
paring house thatch, making preparations for great feasts, such as the puberty
feast—or to take part in one of the ceremonies of painting and name bestowal, hair
plucking and perforation of ears and septum, haircutting, change of voice in
youths, first menstruation, or some similar occasion. We have already noted (p.
13) that the thatch trimming of a new house is also carried out with festivities.

*Labor festivals.*—There is a large class of ceremonies for which the guests arrive 476
in the morning, receive a meal and gourds of drink from the hosts, then all go out
together to work. That night they drink, dance, and sing until the following day. 574
These gatherings, which are entirely profane, are called *vayuri'* (uajurí, ajurí) or 527
pë'ta. The first of these terms, vayuri', is an alteration of the Portuguese word
for assistance, *ajuda,* which passed into the lingua geral to designate these gather-
ings for communal work without payment; the second, pë'ta, is the Portuguese
word for party, *festa,* pronounced in the Tukuna manner. This suggests that the
Tukuna did not have this institution before contact with the Neobrazilians, among [177]
whom it is in great vogue; but one must also consider the possibility that it was
already known by the Tukuna, who only adopted the present form and the
Portuguese terminology.

*Rites of passage.*—The rites of passage have, however, a religious basis and are 881
great ceremonies; the generic designation is dyęìi'. Sometimes more than three 574
hundred persons are present at these, and the celebration with its concomitant 796
drinking lasts for three days and three nights. The vayuri' as well as the dyęìi', [273]
are above all drinking bouts, not banquets.

## ADULT GAMES

527 According to my informants, the feasts were not formerly—as they are today—
dedicated exclusively to ceremonies, dances, and drinking bouts, for someone
526 would always recite legends and historical traditions to the company, and the
guests would gather in the yard for social games. I have found vestiges of the
former custom but have never seen Tukuna adults playing games. I was told that
the last person to promote such games was a curing shaman of reputation in the
Igarapé da Rita, named Romão, who died in 1936.

There were three social games: a ball game, *peteca* (pɔ:′/tẽ), hoop and stick
526 (nai"pẽnį", hoop), and tug of war. The peteca, from which the first game takes its
name, is a ball stuffed with dried maize shucks, which is batted into the air with
the palm of the hand, great care being taken that the ball does not fall to the
ground. The players, all men, form a circle. Tessmann denies that the Tukuna
played ball games, but though I have never seen one, I have myself picked up
balls that had been thrown into a corner after a game.

The second game is played with hoops of elastic cipó about a half meter or more in diameter, and sticks as thick as one's finger and about one meter long. The players face each other at a distance of some thirty paces, and one throws the hoop vertically to the ground in the direction of his opponent, who catches it with his stick as it bounces high in its course. In South America the Šerénte of Goyaz have the same game.[7]

The tug of war is also mentioned by Tessmann. The men divide into two teams,
which try to vanquish each other by pulling the opposite ends of a long, thick
piece of cipó. The Tukuna call this the "jaboti′"[8] ("tortoise") game and say:
"ñe′ia` kį ñɔbį′ naę!" ("Let us play the jabotí"). The reference is to one of the
episodes of the well-known cycle of Jabotí legends from the lingua geral. In
[773] the Tupí tale, "The Yauti and the Caapura,"[9] Jabotí makes the pirahyba and the
caapura contend with each other by pulling on a hammock cord. The Tukuna
identified the Jabotí of these tales, previously unknown to them, with the mëta′rë
of their own legends.

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[7] Nimuendajú, The Šerénte, p. 74.

[8] T. for jabotí.

[9] Tastevin, A lenda do jabutí, p. 410.

## VII. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

### CLANS

THE TRIBE is divided into some thirty clans, grouped into moieties, whose names I could never discover; I shall therefore refer to them here simply as A and B. The Tukuna language has only one word, kɨa', for both tribe and clan. In Brazil, moiety A has fifteen clans, moiety B twenty-one. It is possible that in Colombia and Peru there are Tukuna clans that are not represented in Brazil. Descent is patrilineal. Members of different clans but of the same moiety deal with one another reciprocally as ma'iⁿo, "brother" (vocative). 614 616 [611]

The Tukuna know that, whether in Peru, Colombia, or Brazil, they form a homogeneous and distinct people compared with the other Indian tribes or the Neo-American nations. However, they have never had the slightest political cohesion. 619

A certain feeling of solidarity unites clansmen, even extending to all the clans of the same moiety. At least I noticed that, if no other considerations were involved, in any problem the Indian would automatically place himself and his sympathies on the side of the members of his clan or moiety without, however, being morally obligated to aid them. 614. 616

Of the fifteen clans of moiety A, twelve have the names of trees, two the names of insects, and one the name of a mammal. 614 616 824 825

Clans of Moiety A

| Clan | Related Tree or Animal | Additional Correlation |
|---|---|---|
| a:'ru | auahy grande (*Thevetia* sp.) | dyɔɨ'; acutipurú, squirrel (*Sciurus* sp.) |
| čẽ'vẽru | auahy pequeno (?), a bird | |
| na'iⁿyęę | saúva (*Atta* sp.), ant | Tessmann's "náika" |
| tęku | saúva (another species?) | |
| čiva' | seringarana, a tree | a'i (*onça pintada*), spotted jaguar, Tessmann's "áika" |
| nõ'/nɨⁿ | pau mulato, a tree (sp. ?) | nõ'/ma suçuarana (*Felis concolor*) |
| čẽẽ' | acapú, tree (*Vouacapoua* sp.) | a'iru, dog |
| õ | genipapo (*Genipa* sp.) | dyɔɨ'; acutipurú, squirrel, (*Sciurus* sp.) (another sp. ?) |
| pʊ'kɨrẽ | muirapiranga (*Brosium* sp.) | |
| čuⁿa | caranã (*Mauritia carana*, Wall.) | |
| tẽ'ma | burity grosso (*Mauritia* sp.) | |
| va'ira | açahy (*Euterpe* sp.) | |
| a'ičanari | genipapo do igapó, tree (sp. ?) | |
| hẽ'turẽ | maracajá grande (*Felis pardalis*) | |
| nyẽ'niⁿči | burity fino (*Mauritia* sp.) | |

A

614 Of the trees, five are identified with animals. Probably the clan kẽ'turẽ (maracajá grande; *Felis pardalis*) is also to be identified with some tree, perhaps 616 with the pU'kirẽ, but of this I am not certain. The identification of trees with 824 mammals is due to the mystic Tukuna conception of the soul (nai$^{n}$-arį ma'-ñ) 825 which certain trees possess. The tree's soul leaves it during the night in the form of the animal with which the tree is identified, returning at daybreak. "a'i-kįa' na 774 i$^{a}$i$^{a}$ ya čiva'" ("Clan Jaguar is seringarana") or "a'i na i$^{a}$i$^{a}$ na-a'e ya čiva'" ("Seringarana has the soul of the painted jaguar"). In vain I tried to discover the reason for including the two clans having insect names with these clans that have tree names; no soul of a tree takes the saúva ant as its nocturnal form. Two informants told me independently that the relation between trees and saúva was that the ants were in the habit of crawling on trees.

614 616 825 All the clans of Moiety B have the names of birds.

Clans of Moiety B[1]

| Clan | Related Bird | Additional Correlation |
|---|---|---|
| tã'u | toucan (*Rhamphastos* sp.) | |
| tuyuyu' | tujujú (*Tantalus loculator*) | |
| aivõ'ru | urumutúm (*Nothocrax urumutum*) | |
| kaurẽ' | japihim (*Cassicus cela*, L. sp.) | |
| barį' | japú (*Ostinops decumanus*, Pall.) | |
| ñɔį' | arara vermelho (*Ara macao*) | |
| čara' | arara canindé (*Ara ararauna*) | |
| vɔɔ' | maracanã grande (*Ara maracana* ?) | |
| a'/ta | maracanã; another species (*Ara* sp. ?) | |
| võu' | parrot (*Amazona* sp.) | |
| ñU/nę$^{a}$ | mutum cavallo (*Mitu mitu*) | Tessmann's "ndencka" |
| mɔru | maracanã; another species (*Ara* sp. ?) | |
| ẽ'/ča | urubú rei (*Gypagus papa*) | |
| da:'vį | gavião real (*Thrasaetus harpya*) | |
| pU$^{a}$a'ka | arapaço (*Nasica* sp.) | |
| ɔta' | chicken | |
| ẽ'/nẽ | parakeet (*Conurus* sp. ?) | |
| dyavįru' | jaburú (*Mycteria americana*) | |
| ña'u$^{a}$a | socó (*Ardea* sp.) or naguary (*Ardea cocoi*) | |

[824] The relations between the clan member and the tree or animal the name of which he bears are extremely few and do not follow any rule whatsoever.

304 614 It is clear that members of the macaw clans, čara' and vɔɔ', formerly used facial tattooing in designs similar to the facial feathering of these birds. I did not suc-

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[1] It will be noted that the author lists only 19 clans here, although he has previously referred to 21.—Ed.

ceed in obtaining any evidence to show whether the other clans also had any 304
characteristic or distinctive facial tattoo, for this practice was abandoned so long 614
ago that the memory of it has been obliterated.

The former existence of similar distinctive elements, now lost, would explain some of the differences in the statements of the early writers about Tukuna facial tattooing (see p. 39). Nino once told me that the members of the clan ɔ'/ta' (chicken) could [illegible] recognized from afar, since, when walking, they used to nod their heads just like chickens, but as this clan did not live in that locality, he could not prove his statement by concrete examples. In conversation, a certain Indian told some others that he was a runt because he belonged to the clan ce'vẽ'ru, the name of a small kind of auaky. Lastly, an Indian once said that I should belong to the clan kaurẽ' (Japihím) because, like that bird, I had blue eyes. In any case, the idea that some characteristic of the eponym should, or may, appear in the members of a clan is not entirely strange to the Tukuna. 614

In the feather ornaments used even today at the rites of passage there is not a [301]
single clan distinction. On the wall of the girl's seclusion hut a figure of a deer is
painted, not because this animal is related to any clan, but because the deer is [532]
the symbol of that vigilance which the girl and those responsible for her should
observe.

It is said that the members of the clan tẽ'ma (Burity) formerly spoke a lan- [198]
guage different from the others', a statement that could be true only if this clan
had been collectively localized. There is a legend that refers to the origin of the 614
clans, but not of their names, since it relates only how the culture hero dyɔi', 619
after fishing, in the company of his brother e'pi, for the first men, separated his
people from his brother's, this separation being the origin of the moieties. After- 773
ward he ordered a *jacurarú* to be cooked, and all were obliged to taste the broth; thus each one learned to which clan he belonged. According to another version, a pot containing a boiled *jacuruxy* was sent from heaven by ta-ẽ' ("Our Mother") for the same purpose (see p. 114). I do not believe that these facts justify classifying the Tukuna clans as totemic, as the Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis, after only lightly touching the subject, would like to do.[1] There is not a trace of belief in a mystical parenthood common to members of a clan and the respective tree or animal correlated with it, nor do these correlations represent any emotional value.

*The personal name.*—There is one element, however, by which an informed 551
person may recognize an individual's clan without directly asking him: the per- 614
sonal name, which in veiled fashion indicates or connotes the tree or animal of
the clan by reference to some quality, as illustrated in the following tabulation.

Clan čiva'
(Seringarana; jaguar)

| Personal Name | Meaning | Analysis |
|---|---|---|
| ♂ ʋanẽ'-kɨ | false [jaguar], that is, one that does not pursue man | ʋanẽ', false; kɨ, masc name suffix |
| ♂ nu$^{a}$ẽ'tɨ-kɨ | evil-eyed [jaguar] | nu$^{a}$, bad; ẽ'tɨ, eye |

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[1] The author's opinion only. Most anthropologists would unhesitatingly dub the phenomenon totemic.—Ed.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ♂ ñu/mẽ'-kɨ | [jaguar] who places hand on top [of human tracks] | Refers to supposed custom of jaguar's placing its paw on a man's tracks; if the trail is cold, the animal will not follow it. |
| ♂ mẽ'matɨ-kɨ | [jaguar] of handsome markings | mẽ, handsome; tɨ, markings |
| ♂ dya:'ga-kɨ | [jaguar] who cries from afar | dya:'ga, to cry from afar |
| ♂ a'u$^{n}$kɨ-na | dangerous [jaguar] | na a'ukɨma, she is dangerous; na, fem. name suffix |
| ♀ mẽ'čitɨ-na | handsome tracks [of jaguar], that is, fresh tracks | mẽ, handsome; čau-čitɨ', my tracks |
| ♀ čita'-na | [seringarana] on the ground [i.e., rotten] | na'i$^{e}$ ta, fallen tree |
| ♀ bʊ:'/nẽ-na | plump [seringarana] | bʊ:'/nẽ, plump, chubby |
| ♀ dauñatɨ-na | red leaf [of seringarana] | da'u, red; ña'tɨ, leaf |

It is noteworthy that all the masculine names refer to an animal, the jaguar, whereas the feminine, for the most part, refer to a tree, the seringarana.

Clan a:'ru
(Auahy grande; agouti)

| Personal Name | Meaning | Analysis |
|---|---|---|
| ♂ čẽrẽẽ-kɨ | | na$^{e}$i$^{n}$čẽẽ, wider at the bottom; rẽẽ, lengthened. Refers to the auahy-hull rattles hanging together from a cord so that the volume of the rattles is greater at the bottom than at the top where they are tied. |
| ♂ tʊ:'rẽẽ-kɨ | | tʊ:, to hang; rẽẽ, lengthened. Refers to the pendant hulls of auahy fruit. |
| ♀ dẽẽ'-na | [fruit] being picked [from auahy tree] | dẽ'ẽ, to pick, pluck |
| ♀ vẽgɨ'nẽ-na | | vẽgɨ, passing here to there (as a cipó or harpoon line stretched for drying). Refers to new auahy shoots, which are similar to cipó. |
| ♂ vi/vi'ẽ-kɨ | | vi/vi' reproduces onomatopoetically the noise made by the agouti gnawing fruits. |
| ♂ če:'nɨ$^{e}$ | [agouti] that likes [to eat fruit of] matamatá | *če*:, envira de matamatá; nɨ$^{e}$, to like [to eat] |

Clan ñaɨ'
(Red macaw, *arara vermelho*)

| Personal Name | Meaning | Analysis |
|---|---|---|
| ♂ kvaita'činɨ$^{e}$-kɨ | [macaw] beating wings [seated] | ta'činɨi$^{e}$, wing; na kva'i, beat |
| ♂ yʊči-kɨ | [macaw] hopping [from one branch to another] | yʊʊ', to jump from one place to another |
| ♀ ñʊčirẽ-na | [macaw that lets] fall the rest [of the fruit] | ñʊ, to fall; čirẽ, the rest |
| ♀ gɔ'ẽ-kɨ | [macaw] that flew | na'i$^{e}$ gɔ'e, he flew |

Clan [illegible]

(Horse turkey, mutum cavalo) 614 551

| Personal Name | Meaning | Analysis |
|---|---|---|
| ♂ ṇ'kine-kį ............ | [turkey] that grows a tail | ṇ, to form; kįra', tail [of a bird] |
| ♂ tü'a'kįra-kį .......... | [turkey] spreading tail in fan | tü, to spread tail in a fan; kįra', tail [of a bird] |
| ♀ äna'ü-na ............ | [turkey] that arrives suddenly | äa, to arrive; a'ü, suddenly. The turkey, after bathing in the clay pit of the tuitatáe, dries itself by hopping out with a sudden leap. |
| ♀ mäü'tü-na ............ | [turkey] of good sight | mä, good; ṫü, eye, vision, sight |

Certain persons, old women especially, command a rich repertoire of various 553
clan names, hence they are summoned and consulted when a child is to be given 614
a name. According to Monteiro Noronha and those who quote him, the name was given after circumcision, that is, "shortly after birth." "This [circumcision] ceremony is a result[4] of giving a name to the children with celebrations [and] dances in the presence of a horrible figure which is said to be the Devil [dance mask]."[5]

Today the name is given when the child is one day old, after the bath; it is conferred by a maternal relative, a member of the moiety complementary to the child's, [614]
with a preference for the grandmother in whose house the parents and relatives have gathered with the newborn infant. First, however, names are proposed by one of the women who understand these things, as mentioned above, who are invited for this purpose. Afterward the name is newly proclaimed and confirmed at the [852]
ceremony of painting the child red with urucú, when it begins to crawl, and at the hair-plucking ceremony, when the child is two years old. The proclamation of the name is always accompanied by the shout of "yeⁿ!" and the raising of the child's ornaments into the air.

Nowadays, the Tukuna, except some children, are all baptized by Capuchin 553
friars of São Paulo de Olivença and bear Portuguese names, often pronounced 177
so as to be quite unrecognizable. Some persons are known only by their baptismal 852
names, even among their tribesmen; but without exception all have and know their native names, and I never observed on the part of the owners any reluctance to divulge their names when asked to do so.

## MOIETIES

The Tukuna refer to the clan quite frequently, but never to the moiety, yet the 616
latter is of much greater importance. The principal function of the moieties is exogamy, although the Tukuna are not aware of the existence of their dual organization; they know only that members of certain clans may not marry members of certain others.

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[4] Literal translation. The statements are contradictory: "name given after circumcision"; "[circumcision] a result of giving a name."—Trans.

[5] Monteiro Noronha, § 146.

616 773 Only one of my informants ever told me a version of the legend of man's creation, attributing the institution of moieties to the culture hero, dyɔi'.

> A great number of these people who were first fished for by dyɔi' and e'pi were then thrown together helter-skelter, but dyɔi' separated his to the east and those of e'pi to the west. [The episode of the institution of clans (see p. 129) follows.] Afterward, he made some marry others.

616 773 881 This version, however, is in accordance with the association of the two culture heroes, as well as the moieties, with the east and west, respectively. For moiety A the position of children and of girls at rites of passage, when prescribed, is always with the face to the east, and the girl's seclusion hut in the puberty ceremony is always placed—at least it was formerly—at the east wall of the house. Moiety B is oriented in the opposite direction. Thus, the men created by dyɔi' and e'pi would be those of moieties B and A (*sic*) respectively,[5] but though men of both moieties deal with ta-na'tɨ ("Our Father"), I never found the slightest indication that some consider themselves the descendants of dyɔi' and others those of e'pi, the former being always glorified to the disparagement of the latter.

616 881 In the puberty ceremony there are some significant differences between the two moieties. Thus, the turtleshell drum, pɔ:'vi, is used exclusively by clans of moiety A, whereas the stamping tubes, ba:'/ma, and the bamboo horns, kɔ'firi, belong to clans of moiety B. Lately, the stamping tube has been introduced into the ritual of the Japú and Maguary clans of moiety B, a practice which two of my informants held to be an unwarranted innovation.[6]

## EXOGAMY

582 835 609 The tenacity with which the Tukuna respect their laws of exogamy even today, their implacable liquidation of the transgressor, and the complete incomprehension of this by the Neobrazilians, even the priests, are the most serious obstacles to frank promiscuity with the Neobrazilian population, and by preventing such promiscuity they efficiently contribute to the preservation of the tribe. The Tukuna regard the *civilizados*, among whom incest is not uncommon, with a certain contempt, not only because of Indian prejudice but also because the Brazilian law forbids incest, even though they attach no great importance to the law itself. A priest who eventually gives dispensation for the marriage of a man with the daughter of the man's own brother loses the Indians' respect, though a man's marriage with the daughter of his sister is a different matter.

835 773 Incest, vɔ:'mači,[7] includes not only carnal union between individuals of the same moiety, but any disrespect shown the sex of a person in the prohibited degree of kinship, such as a simple, involuntary glance at the genitals. According to legend, the first person guilty of incest was e'pi, brother of the culture hero dyɔi'. Desiring to take by force half of a royal hawk that his sister mɔva'ča had concealed between her knees, he touched her genitals. She was immediately transformed into a collared peccary (*taitetú*), but the demon ma/či' of the jaguar race killed her with

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[5] There is a discrepancy here. According to the legend given above, dyɔi''s people (moiety A) are oriented to the east, e'pi's (moiety B) to the west.—Trans.

[6] Another discrepancy? The ba:'/ma belongs to moiety B but is also a recent introduction.—Trans.

[7] "Confused flesh": vɔ:, a jumble of wood fibers entangled with a cipó or liana; ma:-mači, flesh.

an arrow in the form of a hornet. She was revived by dyɔi', who killed ma/či'. 835 The spirit of ma/či' is in heaven today, where, as soon as the souls of the incestuous 773 arrive, it assaults them. It is then that one hears the muted humming of the hornets of ma/či'.•

Incest is considered, in the first place, to be a sin against the goddess ta-ẽ', who, according to one version of the legend (p. 114) gave to the first men knowledge of their clans by means of jacuruxy broth, which she sent them from heaven. To a man guilty of incest she said: "Thou art corrupting the people!" and punished him in life with madness, giving him the soul of an animal. After death, when his soul succeeded in passing unharmed through the poles of the gate tɔ/ri'ta and arrived at the house of ta-ẽ', she loosed upon him two monsters (čɔrẽ'ruma), which tore him to pieces.•

An incestuous act committed casually but not repeated is strongly censured and 835 ridiculed, the guilty one being labeled an "ɛ'pi," although this offense does not 684 expose him permanently to collective scorn to the point of exclusion from social activities. After his death, ta-ẽ' will send the two čɔrẽ'ruma to lick his soul from head to toe, thus cleansing it of the sin it bears so that it may be received like any [775] other soul.

Prolonged and public incest causes horror and repugnance, constituting a disgrace and intolerable shame for the relatives and, like similarly prohibited unions, may result in blood tragedies. A man named čiẽẽ formed an incestuous alliance with the daughter of his paternal uncle and had several children by her. One day, when he had appeared at a celebration of one dya'iva, his nephew, the latter accused him to his face of the sin. In a fury čiẽẽ threatened his nephew with a machete, but dya'iva killed him with one shot. His partner in incest fled with her offspring and was never seen again.

During my stay among the Tukuna of Igarapé Tacana in June, 1941, the following incident occurred. An Indian named Abilio murdered a woman and her suckling babe, "naturally" because of jealousy, said the Neobrazilians. The real reason, however, was this: Abilio's father-in-law, Joaquim tauaru' of the ɛ'i clan, some fifty years old and several times a grandfather, began to maintain sexual relations with a daughter of his deceased brother. His wife and her son Moáca did everything to dissolve this union, but Joaquim tauaru' paid no attention to anyone, turning furious if anyone discussed the situation. As is the custom among Indians, the affair took a long time to reach the boiling point, which happened only after the girl had a child. It was then that Moáca and his mother, who had left the house in disgust and had fallen gravely ill, decided to put an end to this shameful state of affairs. As the offender's son, Moáca was loth to take action personally and so persuaded his brother-in-law, Abilio, of the same clan as Joaquim tauaru''s wife, to kill the girl and her infant. Abilio lured her to a secluded spot in the igapó, stunned her and the child with blows of his paddle and finished them off with his machete, tied the two bodies together, and threw them into the river. The bodies 835 were discovered a little farther down, near the riverbank; the Indians immediately 684 understood what had occurred, but their Neobrazilian boss in Belém also received 648

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• See the legends, "The Dishonor of mɔva'ča," and "dyɔi' and ɛ'pi Kill the Demon ma/či'," pp. 124–125.

• See the legends relating to ta-ẽ', pp. 114–115.

835 684 648 word of the crime and sent someone to investigate. Learning this, Abilio voluntarily went to Belém to declare that he was the killer. His explanation that "they lived like dogs" was no reason at all to the Neobrazilians, who did not understand it, so he returned home. A few days later the subprefect of police ordered his arrest; but after several days he was released, to the great satisfaction of the Indians of Tacana, who were said to have been determined to free him by force. As a matter [732] of fact, after all this, Joaquim tauaru' did appear to me to be mentally unbalanced when I encountered him. The Indians said that he had already acquired the nature of a dog: one girl, who watched him from a hiding place, observed that he dug the earth with his fingernails like a dog!

## LAW

685 *Crimes.*—I have never heard of theft occurring among the compound families characteristic of Tukuna local groupings, but it does happen away from their confines, even among fellow tribesmen. The person robbed, eventually aided by his relatives, deals personally with the thief. Willful thieves cannot hope for very gentle treatment on the part of the victims. A certain nai$^{e}$a'kį of Igarapé de Belém broke into a trunk during the owner's absence, stealing the contents, but was surprised and forced to return everything. Some time later he repeated the misdeed in another house, but not so cleverly as to avoid suspicion of robbery. Since nai$^{e}$a'k. obstinately refused to return his loot, the victim promptly shot him; but the wound was not fatal.

574 674 The great majority of crimes involving death or injury take place during the work parties and celebrations, being due to drunkenness. As I have already indicated, they are almost always without a serious motive, simply because alcohol. in certain Tukuna, arouses not the sexual instinct but the desire to quarrel, which is directed most of the time against their own relatives. A fight at Igarapé da Rita that ended with the death of one person and the wounding of two began with insults which an Indian for no apparent reason hurled at his father. Strangely numerous are the quarrels among drunken brothers-in-law. Could this be some a priori subconscious hostile feeling against the intrusion of another clan into the family? Moreover, in the language of the Guaraní, who have no such clan organization as the Tukuna, the word for brother-in-law, *tovayá*(*ra*), means also "competitor." and the verb *akovayá* means "to be against."

672 273 In any case, as I have already explained, the Tukuna appear to consider drunkenness an extenuating circumstance, which absolves the criminal almost completely of responsibility. This point of view appears in the lack of concern about such incidents: "He was soused!" they say, and that is the end of it. Even a murdered man's own relatives, at first naturally enraged, gradually accept this point of view. which they would never do if the crime were committed in cold blood.[illegible] However, a certain aversion to the slayer always remains, and if he is so imprudent as to glory in the deed, the relatives of the victim may still have a sudden and violent reaction and seek revenge. It is, however, true that a killing by a drunken man will not per se provoke reprisal.

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[illegible] See pp. 106 ff. for the story of the execution of an evil shaman.

*Property.*—The Tukuna apparently lack the concept of a rigidly delineated 423
territorial zone as the tribal patrimony. They never protest against Neobrazilian
usurpation of almost all the lands formerly at their disposal, nor do they squabble 648
over boundaries with the Neobrazilians or with other tribes. In fact, the region is 131
so immense and the population so scanty that difficulty over land rarely arises, as it may do when a *civilizado* forces an Indian to abandon his own plot because the land now belongs to the former or when sharpers extort "taxes" from the Indians inhabiting lands which never belonged to any civilized person.

Formerly the Tukuna were restricted to certain areas by t[illegible]resence of neighboring tribes, some of them avowed enemies, like the Omágua [illegible]d the Mayoruna. With the disappearance of this pressure the Tukuna began to spread out beyond their territorial limits, knowingly, but without any scruples.

A Tukuna will not quarrel with a Neobrazilian over land or over fish in the 423
igarapé; even less will he quarrel with his tribesmen. As for land, he desires only [648]
that it be productive; it does not enter his mind to pass land on to his descendants,
nor does he sell it as his own property. If his children move, they lay no claim [578]
even to the fruit trees their parents planted at the old site. Everywhere there are Tukuna taperas (abandoned, jungle-grown plantations) with numerous fruit trees. Who planted them and where the former owner is now living is well known, but once he abandons his property, anyone who so wishes may take possession.

A house is the property of the person who constructed it or ordered it built—usually the head of the family—who may abandon, sell, or give it away over the protests of other family members. The clearing belongs, not to the man who felled the trees, but to the woman who planted and weeded it, as we have seen in the discussion of divorce, though the entire family, if normally organized, benefits from its produce. In general, each person, even a child, is the owner of whatever he makes or of whatever is made for him.

*Inheritance.*—Objects used exclusively by men may not be inherited by women, 428
and vice versa. When I asked an Indian, who had neither sons nor brothers, who would inherit his shotgun, he answered that it would belong to his son-in-law. If the couple should separate, he said, his daughter would keep the weapon and give it to her next husband; thus, the actual inheritor was the daughter. Normally, the legacy passes from father to son or, if there are no sons, to a brother, brothers-in-law being considered only if there are no sons or brothers. Correspondingly, daughters inherit their mother's property. I have never observed any disappointment or disagreement over inheritance, even when the objects were relatively valuable, such as firearms or a sewing machine.

## Chiefs

There is absolutely no political organization today. The Tukuna never had a supreme head, and a clan government could not obtain because the clans were not 622
localized. But what they apparently did have until not too remote times were chiefs of local groups inhabiting the various igarapés tributary to the Solimões. These heads of large families possessed magical powers, intelligence, and ability to deal with strangers, especially with the *civilizados*. Owing to these qualities, they gained a limited ascendancy over fellow members of the group who would approach them

622 with their problems in search of aid and advice. In spite of this, they had no right to punish or coerce anyone who balked at their admonitions. The Tukuna title of these men was tẽ'/tį; on feast days they were distinguished by their feather caps, na:patẽe (described on pp. 37–38).

According to the legend of the origin of languages (p. 130), the first of these
[773] chiefs was a certain dəvį, who was also the first man caught by the culture hero
dyəi'. The last on Brazilian soil appears to have been Domingos ču'nekį of Igarapé
de São Jeronymo. The institution was undermined by the Neobrazilians, who, as
[177] lords of the rubber forests and the Indians, pressed these chiefs into their own
service.

In place of the tẽ'/tį, who exercised their main influence within the traditional
622 648 tribal limits, there arose the *tuixáuas* (in Brazil) and *curacas* (in Peru), whom
their masters appointed and made into mere instruments. These poor devils were
condemned to lie to their "charges" in order to please their masters, and to lie
to the latter so as not to be completely despised by their fellows. As late as 1929
I knew a few of these: all ended by being bullied by other Indians of their own
group, who at heart never recognized their authority.

There are today a few Indians of recognized superiority, like Calixto daueru'kį of Igarapézinho de São Jeronymo (pl. 10, *e*) and Nino ęvẽnįⁿkį of Igarapé da Rita, to whom the others resort as they formerly did to the tẽ'/tį, but these owe to the Neobrazilians the dubious honor of nomination.

## WAR

721 The Tukuna are not warlike; their few fights with the Neobrazilians are isolated acts of vengeance or defense.

*Weapons.*—War weapons are the bow, vęra' (p. 30), the curare-tipped arrow,
411 kɔ:'ru, and the equally poisoned lance, va:ma'gu, above all, the last named. According to Tessmann, the Tukuna do not use clubs. On several occasions during ceremonies I observed men carrying four-sided clubs with a rounded grip, va:'ra, about a meter in length. Possibly, these are in imitation of clubs used by the northeastern Neobrazilians, who customarily attend celebrations so armed, for the Indians are by no means the only ones who fight on such occasions. Formerly, the Tukuna also used a round shield, nači'nẽ, of tapir leather. The blowgun was not used in warfare. They defended the paths leading to their dwellings with pointed stakes of paxiuba poisoned with curare (tųpe'). This method is described in the traditional story of the "Tapera Surára."

> In the abandoned plantation of this name, on the left bank of the Alto Igarapé de São Jeronymo,
> [173] in the old days a Tukuna killed a relative. The dead man's parents complained to the authorities at São Paulo de Olivença, who sent soldiers to the igarapé to arrest the murderer. But the inhabitants of the place put poisoned stakes on the path. Several soldiers were wounded, and the rest returned without completing their mission. The Tukuna, however, abandoned the place from that time on.

*War with the Omágua.*—The most feared enemies of the ancient Tukuna—one
648 might say their only enemies—were the Omágua. "[The Omágua] attacked by
canoe, with great spears. They captured many; some of them were sacrificed to
[727] their idols and the rest served as slaves in their husbandry." A Tupí-speaking tribe

of canoe warriors, they had a culture noticeably superior to that of the Tukuna, 648 who in many ways were influenced by them. According to Padre Samuel Fritz, in 1691 they inhabited twenty-three villages, situated exclusively on islands of the Rio Solimões, between 67 and 72 degrees longitude. The Tukuna called them a'/vane ("of water"; *awa*, the Omágua name for themselves).

[713]

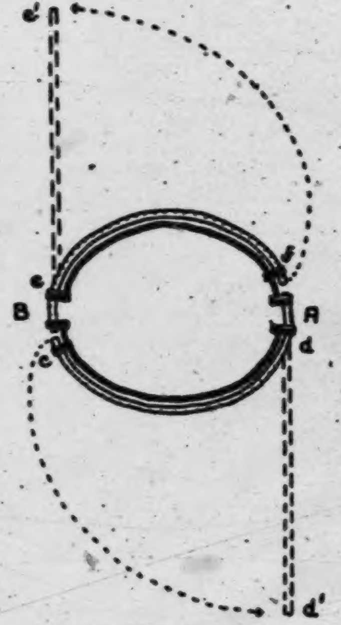

Fig. 9. Booby trap.

Myths of the culture hero brothers tell of the first appearance of the Omágua [173] (p. 128). In a different way the same subject is referred to in the legend of mëta'rë and va'i'či'kį (p. 145). There is no report of a Tukuna attack on the Omágua [726] islands, because in the old days Tukuna navigation was still very primitive. They limited themselves to defense when attacked in their igarapés, and to eventual pursuit of the enemy to the banks of the Solimões. Legends and tradition contain many references to these battles: witness the following. 649

The Tukuna descended the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and, arriving at the mouth, blew their 173 horns. Then the Omágua came up the igarapé in their dugouts just as the Tukuna were gathered 726 for a feast in a large maloca which used to be at dyumaritį', on the left bank of the igarapé, just above the mouth of the mai'a-tį. After capturing and killing the Indian who had gone to invite his comrades to the celebration on his return trip, they attacked the maloca where all were gathered. In the same hour, however, the Tukuna from the upper igarapé arrived to take part in the feast also and, seeing what was taking place, immediately fell upon the Omágua, killing them all. One of these, already wounded by a poisoned lance, still wished to steal one of the uaricána statues and dragged it to the steep bank. There his strength left him, and he, together with the

> 648 statue, rolled over the edge and disappeared with it in the waters of the igarapé. Even today the
> song of the drowned statue may be heard sometimes.
>
> 173 All the Tukuna now gathered together at dyumaritį', awaiting the Omágua. They came two
> 726 days later in great numbers and attacked with arrows. The battle was hotly disputed, the warriors standing sometimes ankle deep in blood. The Tukuna killed many Omágua on the battlefield and killed others during the retreat; those who escaped foundered in the whirlpool at the mouth of Igarapé de São Jeronymo and were drowned.
>
> At the battlefield the earth became spongy with the worms feeding on the bodies, and sank; [the depression] may still be seen there today. The worms were later transformed into little acari fish.

648 Another time, the Omágua assaulted a festive gathering of the Tukuna, this time
726 far up the Igarapé de São Jeronymo in the vicinity of Igarapé dyʋ'/na. At the mouth of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, the Tukuna had placed guards, who repelled the Omágua while these were fighting the crosscurrents at the mouth of the igarapé.

Once, the Tukuna set up an ingenious booby trap (fig. 9) at one of their own
713 houses at which they expected an attack. Anticipating the arrival of the Omágua,
726 they cut two assahy palm trees with thin and very elastic trunks, fifteen to twenty centimeters in diameter, so long that they stretched from one of the two doors of the house to the opposite one. On the outside of the house they tied one of the trunks (*c–d*) firmly at the posts of door A in a horizontal position a meter and a half above the ground; they tied the other trunk (*e–f*) at the posts of door B in the same way. They then bent trunk *c–d*, pressing it against the outer house wall, and held it at point *c*, beside door B, with a loop of cipó passed through the wall. In the same way they set trunk *e–f*, bending it and securing it at *f*. This completed, all shut themselves inside the house to await the arrival of the enemy.

Espying the Omáguas' approach through cracks in the house wall, they waited until the enemy were all inside the yard and surrounding the house, and then they cut the cipós simultaneously at *c* and *f*. Tied now only at one point, the elastic trunks, with a strong backlash, returned to their normal straight positions, *d–d'* and *e–e'*, knocking down and wounding many of the enemy.

727 Unlike the Omágua, the Tukuna never took prisoners or kept trophies from the enemy dead.

# VIII. LIFE CYCLE

## PREGNANCY

AFTER INTERCOURSE, conception depends on the will of the goddess ta-ẽ′: it is she 842 who gives the fetus its body and soul. When, overburdened with tasks, ta-ẽ′ grows [776] careless, the child is born with defects in mind or body.

We have already noted (pp. 22 and 46) the effects of a pregnant woman's intrusion 843 in a clay pit or at maize planting, but on the whole there are few restrictions for her. She eats peppers lest the fetus become too fat, which would complicate birth; she eats the tripes of the alligator (jacaré-tinga) so that the child shall be born with a clear skin; and drinking the water of the *cipó barí* during pregnancy produces the same effect, as does staring at persons of white skin. Whoever eats double bananas will have only daughters. A real diet during pregnancy appears never to have been prescribed. If a girl is bitten by a type of ant called kaẽ′na, [825] she will subsequently have children of a dark complexion.

*Voluntary abortion.*—A woman sometimes produces abortion in order to avoid 847 the shame of having a "disqualified" child, i.e., one that belongs to no clan because its father is a Neobrazilian. Thus, an Indian girl named Neca, of the Rio Jacurapá, finding herself pregnant by a Neobrazilian, confessed her condition to her mother; both then concealed the affair from the girl's father, whom they feared, because he was a somewhat violent man. When Neca could no longer hide her pregnancy, the mother took her into the garden patch, where she succeeded in aborting the child by treading on the girl's belly.

According to legend, after an abortion, the cadaver of the fetus goes to ta-ẽ′, 847 who cooks it in a pot until it disintegrates. When the pan becomes full, the goddess 775 keeps it until the death of the sinner, and thus addresses the soul when it arrives: "Thou hast slain the child I gave thee; now eat of thy property!" The sinful mother must eat the stew to the last morsel, however much she may beg and wail that she can eat no more.

*Twins.*—Twins (ta tarẽ′/pį; tarẽ, two) are not overly welcome since they in- 845 crease the mother's work, but they are not killed. I myself knew a married couple in Igarapé de São Jeronymo who had twins; the reason was given me by an Indian, who asserted that the mother, while yet a child, had eaten double bananas. Others simply say that twins are due only to the will of ta-ẽ′.

## BIRTH

When parturition is near, the husband erects a temporary platform close to the 844 ground and hidden in a thicket some thirty paces behind the house. As soon as the pains begin, the woman is conducted there, where her hammock and mosquito bar are rigged up, and a piece of tururí bark cloth is spread over the platform. Her mother, aunt, or eldest sister attends her, the husband remaining in the house. If there are difficulties, a medicine man is sent for; smoking a tauary cigarette, he makes gestures with his hands as if he were opening some invisible object from [755] below.

Blows on the back with the mouth of a manioc press are also recommended in difficult labor. The woman squats on her heels on the platform, with her arms

844 held behind on the hammock, and the woman assistant embraces her from behind.
The umbilical cord is tied with cotton thread and cut with a small sliver of bamboo
or canna brava. Even today an iron instrument is not used for this purpose. The
wound is lightly cauterized, being touched once or twice with charcoal from a
small tree gnawed round in circular fashion by a certain insect. The afterbirth is
called na:'ana/(mouth) "because the child in the maternal womb nourishes itself
by it"; it is buried at the place of birth.

*Infanticide.*—Infanticide immediately after birth occurs, though rarely, and
847 then usually of an unmarried woman's offspring, the child being buried alive. In
general, the Tukuna consider it a great sin, which ta-ẽ' will surely punish. An
Indian I knew whose unmarried daughter became pregnant suspected her of
planning infanticide and threatened her with death should she carry out her
intention. Another reason for infanticide is that the child is "disqualified." For
example, when dɔ'tanįna had a child by a mestizo, the son of a Tukuna woman,
her own father did not wish her to raise it, hence she buried it alive. After death an
[775] infanticide ascends to heaven with the child's corpse held crosswise in her mouth,
"like a bitch carrying her whelp."

Many Tukuna fathers show an exaggerated preference for male children, to the
842 detriment of daughters. I once, quite intimately, observed the disgust of a couple
with their first-born, merely because it was a girl; they became vexed to the point
of planning to kill her some weeks after birth. However, the mother's brother, as
protector of his niece, reproached and threatened the couple so unmistakably that
they never again dared discuss the subject.

*After the birth.*—The newborn child's mouth is immediately cleansed and the
846 skull is manipulated, being pressed laterally between the fingers into the proper
856 shape. The infant's body is washed in tepid water, the mother's in hot water. With
a little stick a bit of the umbilical blood is rubbed on the child's cheeks so that
they may become ruddy, just as a little of the first feces is rubbed on the eyebrows
to make them grow thick and black, a feature very much esteemed. The Mongoloid
birthmark on the skin of the sacral region is also attributed to these first feces.
After the hammock and the mosquito bar are taken down, the platform is knocked
apart, the tururí cloth is buried, and the midwife, followed by the mother, carries
the child to the house.

751 Even before the birth the midwife takes care to scrape genipapo, with which
846 the child is painted from head to toe on the first day, an old custom instituted
by the culture hero dyɔi' (see p. 128). This is considered an efficient protection
against any evil that might befall the newborn infant. It is also the custom to
[301] thread small bits of the root of a grass called ma'iᵃa-arį-ĕu'pį (*periperý* [?], "of
otter") as beads, tying them around the child's wrist and hand.

Father and mother must be cautious and must diet until the umbilical cord
846 drops off. The mother sallies forth from her mosquito bar only to attend to her
necessities and to bathe herself with tepid water; both parents eat only small fish,
small birds, bananas, and manioc cakes, avoiding all acid foods. Except for going
to the river to bathe, the father may not leave the house grounds, and he is for-
[826] bidden to touch a firebrand, a paddle, an ax, or a bow. If he touches his bow, the
child will develop a crooked spine and become a hunchback.

The father may drink paiauarú in small quantities, but only if it is sweet; 846
drinking more would make the child a drunkard and would also cause it to cry
excessively. Even after the period of restriction the father may not approach his
child if he has touched some object that might harm it. At Igarapé de São Jeronymo
I was told that the father is not subject to any dietary or other restrictions, provided that he does not touch the child.

The Tukuna, like the Apinayé,[1] believe that the acts of the parents are reflected 846
in their children's health, and vice versa, not only in the period immediately subsequent to birth but also throughout life. Thus, when a sick person submits to 753
treatment by a shaman (pagé) the parents as well as the children must for one
week avoid eating salt, peppers, and viscous fish.

Once the umbilical cord has fallen off, it is thrust among the roots of a *pupunheira* tree or, better yet, into a crevice opened by the edge of an ax in the bark of 846
the *tapereba*, since this tree "does not die," even when chopped to pieces. After
the birth of a child, the husband avoids his wife for one year, more or less.

## INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

The infant is carried slung across the shoulders in a sling, tipoia (pl. 8, *b*), some ten 482
centimeters wide, which is double, so that the child sits on one strip while the 854
other supports its back. This sling (T., na:-čimįᵃ) was formerly woven of cotton 286
or tucum fiber, or even at times made of tururí bark cloth. Nowadays it is almost
always of purchased material.

Amulets protect the child against disease purely by their magical powers. Thus, 751
the child has the skull, minus the beak, of a *miuá* (*Phalacrocorax vigna*) suspended 854
from its neck so that it shall not fall sick of fever. A necklace of certain seeds with
a penetrating odor protects it against catarrh; and the claw of a *tatú canastra* 778
(*Cheloniscus gigas*), hung from the wrist, guarantees the child's becoming an
expert worker, especially a good canoewright. The Tukuna have not the slightest
conception of the "evil eye."

If one goes at night into the dark jungle with a nursling, the infant runs the 854
risk of losing the soul from its body. To prevent this, one must whistle and call 776
the child by name. The tree spirits also like to steal children's souls, as do the 774
water demons called dyẽ'vaẽ (see p. 119), which threaten it during its bath in
the igarapé; for this reason the mother is accustomed to thrust a magic arrow into
the bath water. Children less than two years old crying alone attract the shades
of the dead (na-čii'), who separate their souls from their bodies. All these circumstances require the intervention of a shaman. The child receives its name on 852
the day after birth, as already described (p. 60). At the age when they begin to
crawl, children are subjected to a ceremony called tę-ta' ęęmatį (paint them), at
which they are daubed with red urucú and decorated with feathers plucked from
parrots.

Children submit—formerly at the age of two, nowadays at four years or later—
to a second festive ceremony called bua tę ta bẽ'ẽru (pluck the children's hair), at
which the ears are also pierced and boys have the septum of the nose pierced. [304]
Today only the hair is plucked—if, indeed, it is not cut with scissors—and the

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[1] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, p. 102.

girls' ear lobes are pierced.

852 girls' ear lobes are pierced. The direction of this feast (pai-či'nɨ), as that of the painting ceremony, falls to the paternal aunt. Both follow the procedures common [604] to all the rites of passage, which are described in detail in connection with the puberty ceremony.

Spix relates that at the ceremony which he personally attended in Tabatinga (though from the evidence he apparently witnessed it only from afar!) the hair was plucked from a child two months old, and he says that this ceremony frequently cost the life of the child![3] But the boy shown in his plate "Maskenzug der Ticunas" has a bald head, is held in a woman's arms (it should be in a carrying sling), and appears to be about two years old. In any case, I have never seen or heard of a single instance where this operation caused the slightest harm to the child.

The hair-plucking ceremony, celebrated with all the elaboration of the major festivals, lasts two or three days. On the morning of the second day the child is [302] decorated with thick urucú paint on which hawk plumage is glued (pl. 12, *o*). Horizontal lines are painted to encircle the arms, forearms, thighs, and legs; two vertical lines are drawn on the front of the torso and two behind, and spots are daubed on the cheeks and forehead. On the arms are placed bands made from feathers (see p. 37), other bands are placed on the legs. In the process of weaving these bands, short locks of hair from one of the child's relatives are inserted.

A boy has a necklace of monkey teeth placed about the neck, and he is dressed [301] in a double tanga of painted white tururí cloth (see p. 36). For a girl, a tanga of cotton cloth is used, for which nowadays purchased material is substituted. Pectoral strings of beads complete the feminine attire. Today, even though the child [482] undergoing this ceremony has already passed far beyond the age where it requires the carrying sling, the aunt seats it in a sling of tururí ornamented with painted triangles and dances with it thus in the midst of the guests. The ears are pierced in the manner described on page 38. Before the hair plucking no drug is given to the child. I observed that the children differ individually very much in sensitiveness. [152] All the children cry quite enough, but it was extraordinary to see a boy at least four years old struggle and bellow so desperately that a man had to hold him while three women were plucking his hair. In the end, the little one was completely exhausted and without a vestige of the ornaments worn at the beginning of the ceremony. His mother, seated near by without taking part, eyed her son with an indignant look and with evident disgust at his deportment, which appeared to shame her.

Some eight months afterward the child celebrates the dyʊpa'kẽ̈ẽ̈ (na-pa'kẽ̈ẽ̈, forehead), a complementary feast of slight importance during which the hair, by then grown anew, is clipped straight across the forehead. On the same occasion the leftover decorations from the preceding ceremony, which have been kept on purpose, are burned.

*Childhood.*—The lives of children run a rather monotonous course, owing to the 857 lack of opportunity for them to associate with one another. Once in a great while, 524 with the exception of a feast, where the preoccupation is different, one may see a number of them joined in play. Their toys are dolls of muirapiranga wood (see

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[3] Spix and Martius, p. 1188.

pl. 9, *b*) and animal figures, also of wood, miniature canoes, and small bows and 524
arrows. Not uncommonly one will see a spinning-top (ńʊⁿtəmačẽ; Tessmann, 857
*nótomas*) made of a tucumã nut, with a lateral hole and a wooden peg; it is spun by a cord twisted about this peg, the loop fastening the top being jerked by the left hand, which secures it. Contrary to what Tessmann says, the Tukuna do have the whirligig or buzzer disk (*Surrscheibe*, mʊ′ukɨ; l.g., mutuca, or gadfly)[a] made of a piece of gourd with serrated edges. The bull-roarer (*brinquedo do cão*) is rare; some say that it came to the Tukuna as a Neobrazilian game. Little girls and young maidens sometimes pass the time making cat's cradles with an endless cord, stretching it between the fingers and toes and using the teeth as an aid.

Very early, a small burden basket is made for a girl, with which she accompanies 857
her mother to the clearing. A boy receives a small paddle and javelin and goes
with his father in the canoe to fish. Furthermore, children begin to take active 868
part in festivities at an early age, dancing with their little companions of the same age and sex and partaking of alcoholic beverages when their parents permit it. Later on, even though they can scarcely propel a canoe, they begin to play for hours on end in the igapó, killing small fry and eating tiny fruits.

Because they all, from the age of two years, know how to swim, there is no danger of drowning. Similarly, while searching for fruits they learn to climb trees with astonishing dexterity; they sometimes spend hours perched on tree limbs simply from sheer pleasure at being aloft.

I have already referred (p. 50) to the fact that children here squall and fight 857
among themselves much more than in any other tribe I know of; also, the parents
frequently punish them physically but on the whole do not scold them much with 861
yells and insults, correcting them with a sudden gesture and with few words or none. With remarkable calm they discipline children under two years of age who become naughty or cry obstinately. With a silencing gesture the mother or father orders the eldest sister to fetch a flower of a species of nettle (l.g., pinupinú; T., na:-kʊ′), of which a few specimens are planted for this purpose around the clearing, and it is placed at the child's side without a word. If he obeys, very well; otherwise, if he touches the flower lightly with the naked skin of his limbs and body, the contact produces a painful burning sensation, which, however, is considered beneficial to the health of the infant. Usually the child recognizes the nettle on sight and is terribly afraid of it. Adults apply it as a remedy for local pain,
poisonous insect bites, or rheumatism. Some fathers, moved by their predilection [278]
for male children, permit boys all sorts of abuses and naughtiness up to the age of three or four, while they oblige their daughters to bear silently the frequent, and not so innocent, attacks of the brothers' petty tyranny until the day of reckoning arrives. Then, the father, deciding that the cup of patience is filled, suddenly punishes the boy in such a way that he never again trusts in paternal forbearance, never again feels secure, and flees at the slightest suspicious movement (see p. 51).

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[a] In Brazil, non-Indians make this toy out of a button with a string threaded through the holes,
the free ends being knotted together. Holding the extreme ends of the double loop in both hands, [177]
the operator winds up the string tightly by a looping motion for which the button provides the weight. The extreme ends of the string are then pulled taut, and the button rapidly untwirls the string, producing a whining sound like that of a gadfly (*mutuca*).—Trans.

857 From the age of six or seven years, brother and sister no longer play together, each participating in the adult interests of his or her own sex until the age of puberty approaches and with it the major rites of passage tenaciously preserved to this day.

## PUBERTY

### BOYS' PUBERTY

881 Many Tukuna still vaguely recollect that in the old days the boys were placed in seclusion when their voices changed, but I could not obtain details of this ceremony, since it fell into disuse many generations ago. Castelnau refers to the fact that the youths "ont, avant d'être admis parmi les guerriers, à subir des rudes épreuves," and then describes a ceremony of forcing boys to submit to ant bites, a practice which certainly never existed among the Tukuna.[4]

838 *Homosexuals.*—Tessmann presents very precise information on homosexual intercourse between boys and youths: "Knaben und Jünglinge pflegen allgemein gleichgeschlechtlichen Verkehr, zumal auf den Plätzen im Busch wo sie spielen und kleine Häuschen errichten. Dieser Verkehr wird nicht bestraft wenn der Vater davon hört, sie werden nicht verachtet. Es giebt auch echte Gleichgeschlechtliche, die *tawucnangi* genannt werden."[5] If this is really so, I myself should have seen some indication of these practices among the Indians; however, not only did I fail to observe anything of the kind, but I was soon obliged to seek information from various trustworthy informants. All were aware that this vice exists among the Neobrazilian riverbank laborers, but they could cite no instance of its occurrence among the Tukuna. When I inquired the significance of Tessmann's term for homosexuals, pronouncing it in all possible ways, it remained completely incomprehensible to the Indians, except for the first syllable, *ta* (we).

### GIRLS' PUBERTY

881 As soon as a girl senses her first menstruation she removes all her ornaments and, if her mother is absent, hangs them in the house so that they will be seen immediately; she then hides in a thicket near the house. When the mother arrives, she realizes from the ornaments what has happened and goes out to seek her daughter, who responds to the maternal call by striking one piece of dry wood against another. Round the bed of the girl, which is almost always on the upper floor of the house, the mother then promptly erects a partition made of mats of *urucurí* thatching, to which she conducts the girl as soon as night falls.

*Seclusion.*—From then on, the adolescent is treated as a "vərĕkj," remaining in seclusion, completely invisible and inaudible to all except her mother and paternal aunt, though not required to observe any diet. There are the most fantastic and inaccurate reports of this phase of seclusion. For example, Bates writes:

"The Tukuna have the singular custom . . . of treating their young girls, on their showing the first signs of womanhood, as if they had committed some crime. They are sent up to the *girao* under the smoky and filthy roof, and kept there on a very meagre diet, sometimes for a whole month. I heard of one poor girl dying under this treatment."[6] The upper platform is not full of smoke, for the Tukuna do not use the dwelling for cooking, and it is no dirtier than the rest of the house. No diet is prescribed; and, if one girl did die during this seclusion, her death was certainly not due to any cause related to it. 881

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[4] Castelnau, p. 46.

[5] Tessmann, p. 563.

Herndon, after some relatively good information, continues: "It is said that she frequently conceals her situation from her family, preferring a sound beating, when time betrays her, to the dreary imprisonment."[7] Certainly, many civilized girls would act in the same way under the same conditions, but that a Tukuna girl would resort to similar expedients appears very improbable to me for the simple reason that, like her relatives, she considers seclusion a measure demanded by her delicate condition and promptly submits to it for fear of the evil consequences of some oversight. This cautious behavior is because the individual of either sex is believed subject, above all at the time of puberty, to extraordinary and supernatural experiences and to contact with immortals, įį'ne (see p. 137). The vɔrĕkį is surrounded by invisible demons, ńɔɔ' (see p. 89), so that any carelessness on the part of those responsible for her, primarily her mother and paternal aunt, or any negligence of her own may have the gravest consequences. Many stories illustrating this danger are told to the girl, as witness the following tales:

*a*) The puberty ceremony was drawing to a close. Just before midnight the paternal uncle insisted that the vɔrĕkį be withdrawn from seclusion before waiting for the proper hour [before dawn; see p. 88]. He and the rest of the guests were already drunk. He no longer knew what he was doing. They brought down the vɔrĕkį from the seclusion room but, instead of dancing with her until daybreak, they left her standing alone in the center of the house and, paying her no further attention, proceeded to get completely soused. 881 773 539

Then there arrived a demon, ɔ/mi' [a monster in the form of a gigantic lizard], which had taken the shape of a handsome youth. He danced with the vɔrĕkį up and down the festive house, then outside in the yard, and finally carried her off to the forest, where there was a ruined old house, his dwelling. In this house there was still an old rocking-board [quiricá]. He placed the girl beside him in the trough [of the quiricá], sucked out her flesh and blood, and killed her.

When the assembled guests awoke from their drunken stupor, they immediately searched for the vɔrĕkį, first in the seclusion room and then in the yard. Following the trail of hawk feathers with which she had been decorated, they finally found her at the bottom of the quiricá beside ɔ/mi', who had covered himself with the girl's toucan feathers.[8] When they lifted her up, her dry bones rattled inside her empty skin. They killed ɔ/mi', whose lizard feet were the size of a small bench, more or less [5 cm. in diameter].

*b*) The final rites of the puberty ceremony had started. In the feast house they were drinking, and no one, not even the mother, paid any attention to the vɔrĕkį, who was still in the seclusion room. But instead of passing the night on foot, as tradition prescribes, the vɔrĕkį lay down in her hammock and slept. Behold, a band of monsters in the shape of enormous black grasshoppers came and jumped over her, sucking out her flesh and blood. Finally, her mother, remembering the girl, thrust her hand through a crack in the wall of the seclusion room, shaking the edge of the hammock, and called: "Awake, my daughter!" With this, she heard the sound of dry bones rattling. Entering the room, she discovered that in the hammock lay only the skin of her daughter with the bones inside. The guests assembled at the feast searched the trail and discovered the crack through which the monsters had entered. They were still clinging to the outside wall of the house, bloated with their repast, and there they were all killed.

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[6] Bates, p. 406.
[7] Herndon and Gibbon, 1:237.
[8] See the description of the girl's ceremonial costume.

*e*) A girl was in seclusion; a feast was about to be celebrated. Aside from her, there was no one
881 in the house. In the kitchen there lay beneath a cover on the platform (giráu) all the smoked
773 game for the feast. Suddenly, through a crack in the wall of her room, the vɘrĕkį observed a
smoked monkey descend from the platform. Seizing a blowgun, it began to dance with this up
539 and down the kitchen. Then a roasted sloth also clambered down, going first to the fireplace to warm itself, then it searched for the rattle stick, which was already prepared for the feast, and in its turn began to dance to and fro. After some time both returned to the platform.

As soon as her mother returned to the house, the vɘrĕkį told her what she had seen. The mother went to the smoked meat on the platform, examined the sloth, and, seeing that it was dirty with ashes, believed what her daughter had told her. "Nothing like this has ever happened before; I believe that you are going to die!" she said to her daughter. And sure enough, the following morning the girl lay dead in her seclusion room.

342 Formerly, a small room, na-pi$^{n}$i$^{n}$ (pl. 11, *a*) was made for the girl as soon as
881 possible, against the east wall of the house if she belonged to moiety A, against
[616] the west wall if she belonged to moiety B. This little retreat was circular, two meters in diameter or a little more, and had no floor, since the vɘrĕkį sleeps in her hammock throughout her seclusion. The walls are made of long, white strips of burity, tied with cipó firmly together in horizontal bands. These extend from the floor to the roof thatch, where their tips are bent toward the front. On the left side (looking at the room) there is a door, closed by a kind of hanging mat made from
[285] burity frondstalks set in a horizontal position and held firm by two vertical rods. Often today the seclusion room is square and is not erected where it should be, because the position of the house on the banks of the Solimões or igapó does not permit it. In general, to make such a room, people are called together for a work
[476] party (uajurí) to which, above all, members of the clans of the vɘrĕkį's moiety are invited.

*Preparations for the feast.*—The preparations for the feast which now begins
881 may take more than two months, sometimes requiring even one or two more work parties. Nowadays, what really delays completion of the preparations is the difficulty of collecting a sufficient quantity of smoked game for the number of guests;
[136] game is now rare in the country (p. 26), and even fish are not caught easily.

The game is roasted on a forked grill, first in the jungle and later in the kitchen,
[252] where it is then stored on its own large, covered platform. When the last pieces arrive, the first are already desiccated to the point where they more or less resemble charred wood. At the same time, the women prepare alcoholic drinks, of
[273] which a sufficient quantity is required not only for the feast itself but also for the preliminary work party. In the meantime the date of the celebration must be calculated, so that the invitations may be issued.

*Invitations.*—Two invitations are given for any celebration: the first advising
881 of the approximate time with relation to the phase of the moon ("in the first full
574 moon"), the other fixing the exact day that the ceremony begins. Feasts are preferably held during the full moon, not because any magical influence is attributed to it but simply because it is much more agreeable to have the house and yard of the ceremony flooded with moonlight than plunged in darkness.

Invitations are delivered personally by the host, that is, by the vɘrĕkį's father
881 or by a person especially charged by him. The messenger travels from house to
574 house informing the residents that the celebration is drawing near and that the
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host suggests the bringing of masks, tucum fibers, and so forth. These trips 574
generally take two days, and only persons with whom the vɔrëkɨ's family maintain 881
good relations receive an invitation. A Tukuna will rarely dare to come uninvited. 202

In general, the definite invitations are given on the eve of the festivities,
usually simultaneously by messengers in two canoes, one going upstream, the
other downstream. Each man carries a large bark horn, bʊ'/bʊ (see p. 42),
covered with banana leaves to conceal it from the glances of women and children [534]
when the canoe touches shore. Blowing this instrument, the sound of which may
be heard from afar, the messengers travel from one house to another, telling the
owner the exact day and hour (by the sun's position) when the ceremony is to
start, and ascertaining the prospective attendance or absence of the invited guest.

*Final arrangements.*—While the guests are preparing masks, tucum fibers, small 881
drums, and festive attire in their homes, the final arrangements are being made at
the host's house. At the quarter of the house where the vɔrëkɨ's seclusion room is
erected, outside the house a corral is made, consisting of two thatched walls, higher
than a man, perpendicular to the house wall (pl. 17, *c*). The distance between the 881
walls, which are about 12 m. long, is about 7 m. in this enclosure, called tɔ'/kɨ-pi$^{n}$i$^{n}$ 534
(tɔ'/kɨ, a ceremonial musical instrument, see below; pi$^{n}$i$^{n}$, enclosure) various ceremonies
are carried out with the vɔrëkɨ. She has access to it through a small door
which, except for these occasions, is firmly lashed to the house wall. During the
festivities the musical instruments are kept in the enclosure at night.

A cleared path extends from this corral to a spot on the bank of the river or
igarapé several hundred meters from the house, where the musical instruments
and the statues used in the ceremony are kept in water during the day, to prevent
the former from drying out and to conceal the latter from the uninitiated. From
nightfall on, only the persons in charge of the ceremonial instruments[*] may frequent
this path, as the host expressly advises the guests. The yard is cleaned and 881
enlarged, and the other paths are closed off by poles, except one that remains open
for the necessities of the guests. A large platform about 2 m. high is constructed
inside the house for the smoked meat; it is to the right of the seclusion room. The
jars, water jugs, sieves, and gourds remain near the door to the left side of the
retreat. The outside surface of the wall of the seclusion room (inside the house) [353]
is decorated with paintings, that is, bands or crisscross designs composed of triangles,
rhomboids, and circles. In one of these quarters is painted the figure of a
deer, the symbol of vigilance. At the top there is always a sun with a conventionalized
human face, a star, and a new moon. Apparently, these four designs
were the only ones painted in the old days, but today the wall is filled with less
traditional figures. A photograph of such a wall, taken by a Capuchin missionary,
shows a watch, machetes, a tent, a soldier, a woman, and so on; I myself have
observed paintings of steamships and airplanes, because nowadays any guest may
take advantage of the smooth, white wall to paint whatever comes into his head.

All objects are removed from the floor of the house and are piled on top of the
dwelling platform, where the inmates accommodate themselves so as to leave the
greatest possible space for the free movement of the guests and for the ceremonies.

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[*] These persons are called *hɔɔ'*-tani$^{n}$ (*hɔɔ'*, demon) or tɔ/kɨ-tanɨ$^{n}$ (tɔ'/kɨ, ceremonial instrument, described below).

881 534 Before describing the performances, however, some explanation is necessary of the two elements that play such an important role in them—the ceremonial musical instruments and the masks.

*The musical instruments.*—We have already seen that the term "uaricána" serves to designate two quite different instruments, which share only their enormous length, their taboo character for women and children, and their almost wholly ceremonial use. One, the bʊ'/bʊ, is a conical horn made of a section of bark, rolled into a spiral; the other, the tɔ'/kɨ, is a wooden megaphone. Instruments of [171] the bʊ'/bʊ type are very common in the Amazon basin and in the region adjacent to the Guianas. The tɔ'/kɨ, in my opinion, has never been met with except among the Tukuna, for whom it is of the greatest importance, being the voice of a demon; whereas the bʊ'/bʊ is merely an accessory instrument.

881 532 534 The tɔ'/kɨ was formerly invariably accompanied by two statues of muirapiranga wood (T., pʊ'kɨrë). Of those that I saw on the Rio Jacurapá, one was a little under, the other a little over, a meter in length and crudely made, but I was informed that in the old days they were the height of a normal man. Into these entered the shades of demons, who sang through the tɔ'/kɨ, with no one approaching it; there were no men players. In those times the instrument was painted with clay of various colors; neither it nor the statues were kept in water, but they were housed in a small, closed compartment within the dwelling. I did not succeed in learning the names of the personages represented by these statues. One person told me that the masculine statue was entered by the spirit of an ancient shaman of the Omágua, who had been slain by the Tukuna.

881 534 During the festivities, the tɔ'/kɨ and bʊ'/bʊ—there are always two or more of the latter—are brought to the enclosure each day after nightfall and are removed before dawn. The host selects an old man versed in the ritual to take care of these instruments, and also chooses other persons from among the guests, *ad hoc*, to transport and play them (tɔ'/kɨ-ñarɨ përu'/ñ, player).[30] No society, nor even an individual (aside from the host), is permanently in charge of the uaricánas.

Each instrument is carried in a horizontal position on the shoulders of two persons, while behind them a third plays it once or twice during the procession. In front of the ceremonial instruments march two or three piston-flute (ñë'kutɨ) players (see p. 43), and a few beaters (kvaidu°/ɨ°) armed with clubs, with which they run round the feast house and beat on the thatched covering, to frighten the women and children. The instruments are placed in the enclosure on forked sticks or sawhorses, with the mouthpiece at a convenient height and the bell turned toward the wall behind which the girl stays in seclusion. With some intermission, the bʊ'/bʊ and tɔ'/kɨ are blown all night. In the enclosure there is always a pot with drink for the players and also for the instruments themselves, for a gourdful is poured into their mouths as a libation.

881 534 773 The tɔ'/kɨ and bʊ'/bʊ were invented by the culture hero dyɔi'. Each tɔ'/kɨ bears a name given it by its owner: that of dyɔi' is called e:ta-vë ("Of the Star"). Other tɔ'/kɨ names are ẽẽa ("King Vulture," urubú rei), i'rava (urubú gereba), maiᵃa' ("Otter"), and so forth. First, dyɔi' painted his instrument with *carajurú* (*Arrabidea chica,* Bur.), but an immortal counseled him to paint it with clay of

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[30] The *p* in përu'/ñ is pronounced with incomplete closure of the lips, almost like *f*.

different colors, for which he and dyɔi′ went out to search in a claybank at the 881
headwaters of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo; it is in this paint that the taboo of 534
the tɔ′/kị is especially concentrated. The legend of tɔɔ′ēna reflects the implacable 773
punishment by dyɔi′ of a transgressor. The following is a literal translation from
the original Tukuna text.

dyɔi′ was making ready his feast. He made the uaricána rise. Then tɔɔ′ēna wished to see the
uaricána of dyɔi′. With her sister she went round them to the front. She climbed up [a tree] in [539]
front while her sister hid to one side of the path. They came beneath her with the uaricánas. She
suddenly became frightened at a painting of herself. She asked them: "Oh, grandfather, where
didst thou kill thy alligator?" [By now hallucinated because of the uaricána painting, she thought
she saw an alligator.] She urinated much and, pa′!, fell. Then they took advantage of the situation,
to kill her. Later, they returned after having killed tɔɔ′ēna. They cut her into quarters in the place
of the uaricánas on the banks of the ɔ̄′varē [a small tributary on the right bank of the Igarapé de
São Jeronymo, a little below the place where dyɔi′ dwelt], and that is why the ɔ̄′varē is the color
of blood, because they quartered tɔɔ′ēna there. Afterward they smoked her flesh.

At midnight the uaricána sounded again. They brought the mush [made of tɔɔ′ēna's flesh] to the *feast*. dyɔi′ summoned everyone, including her mother and sister. dyɔi′ painted the hollows beneath their eyes with soot from cooking vessels, in order to kill them if they smeared the soot by weeping. Then dyɔi′ called her soul [through the uaricána]:

"The piston flutes [that is, the players who go before the uaricánas] have already slain me, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst leave me for a while, the beads about my waist did move before thee, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst send me to the spring, my hair waved before thee, oh, Mother! Yonder on the spit of land tawegí′ne [name of dyɔi′'s house] my flesh is smoked, oh Mother!"

In the journal of Padre Samuel Fritz there is a report on the use, in 1691, of 881
the uaricána, probably the bʊ′/bʊ, among the Yurimagua of the now extinct vil- 534
lage of Nossa Senhora das Neves (which was on an island of the Solimões near the 175
present Fonte Bôa). 797

What I unearthed was unusual in this Yurimagua village; they were celebrating a feast when, from the hut where I lay, I heard the playing of a flute which caused me such a fright that I could not suffer its sound; I ordered them to cease blowing, and inquired what it was; to which they answered that in this manner they signaled and called to Guaricana,[11] who was the Devil, and who since the times of their forefathers came and attended their villages visibly, and for whom they always made a house away from the village in the forest, and there they brought him drink and the ill for him to cure. I went on to ask with what visage the figure appeared. The *curaca*[12] named Mativa answered me: "Father, I cannot explain it, I know only that it is horrible, and when it comes all the women and children flee, only the brave remain, and then the Devil takes a lash, which we have prepared from a strip of leather from the sea cow, and he whips us on the breast until much blood is drawn. In the absence of the Devil, the whipper was an old man from whom we received great scars on our breasts. This is done, it is said, to make us valiant. The form that he used to take was that of a tiger, pig, and other animals; sometimes he became a giant, at other times a dwarf."

I asked further if he had said anything about me to them, or whether he would kill me, but they said that the words were not clear, "and since thou didst come," said the *curaca*, "the first time that thou didst plant the Cross, he does not wish to come any more to the village, or to cure any more the sick which some carry to his house; for this purpose we now bring them to you, so that they may receive the Gospel and not die."

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[11] "Guaricuya" in the Evora MS.

[12] In Peru, a native chief who receives his authority from the whites, i.e., a cacique; in Brasil he is called a *tuixdua*.

> 881 534 175 This is what I was informed, on this occasion, in regard to the Devil, about whom there had been a previous report that conforms to what is said also about the Aisares, which farther below they call Solimões, and the other nations which have similar communications.[22]

881 276 *The ceremonial taking of snuff.*—As far as I could establish, flagellation was never practiced by the Tukuna, who have, however, another ceremony linked directly with the ceremonial musical instruments—the taking of a coarse snuff called ka'/vị. The principal ingredient is a powder of toasted tobacco. The other constituents are bark ash of *cupuhy*, bark ash of pau mulato, ash of green banana peel, ash of the fruit rind of envira de matamatá, and a yellow lichen that grows preferably on the bark of the *javarí* palm, from which it is scraped. This lichen is said to belong to a demon named pɔ'panę.

881 276 237 The mixture is rubbed through a piece of woven cloth so that an extremely fine powder is formed. *Paricá* (*Piptadenia peregrina*, Benth.) does not enter into its composition. The powder is kept in a special container made from a large, white snail shell (mẽ'ru), the aperture of which is sealed by a plug of mirror glass held by wax. Thrust into the apex of the shell, and also held firm by wax, is a short tube of hollow bird bone, about the thickness of a pencil, through which the powder is removed. Formerly, for the taking of this snuff, there was a device called ta'ru, made of a bamboo tube or tubular bone of the royal hawk, bifurcated by quills of the same bird to form two tubes, firmly joined with wax. (ta'ru also means "fire fan"; kvẽkura'/ṅ is "snuffer.") Today this device is replaced by a single bamboo tube some seven centimeters long.

276 881 The ka'/vị is taken within the enclosure, by night if in the presence of the uaricána, by day, in its absence. The host administers it to the men who present themselves, placing the snuff in the bamboo tube, inserting one end of this in whichever nostril the taker may desire, and then blowing strongly at the other end.

Formerly, the forked quills of the device allowed the ka'/vị to be blown into both nostrils simultaneously. As soon as a man receives the first application, he immediately closes his eyes, bows his head, and seeks a place where he can lie down or can lean against something. He is visibly stupefied, supporting his head on his hand or knees, yet I have never seen anyone lose his senses, and after some three minutes the effect passes.

When the uaricánas are in the enclosure at night, there invariably appear some little boys seven years of age and over, who circle the corral, full of curiosity and eager to learn what is taking place. Since they know what will happen to them if caught by the tɔ'kị-tanị' (the persons in charge of the uaricánas), and they are afraid, they dare each other in order to get up their courage, until finally the men in charge of the uaricánas pounce on them and force them to take ka'/vị. At that age the effect is even more violent, especially as regards loss of the senses, but I have never heard that it stimulates dreams or visions. When it takes effect, the boys are permitted to drink from the jar that stands next to the instruments, leaning against the wall of the enclosure; henceforth they have free access to the enclosure, being allowed to see and touch the statues and instruments. Perhaps in the old days this initiation of the boys into the mysteries of the ceremonial instruments was more solemn than now, when it is already on the road to disappearance because of increasing profanation of these mysteries.

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[22] Fritz, Diario, p. 378.

*The costumes.*—Tukuna costumes are not related to the ceremonial musical instruments. The costumes appear as often at the hair-plucking and ear-piercing ceremony as they do at the girl's puberty festival, but not at the hair-clipping ceremony or at the work parties. Not actually taboo, they are brought secretly to the festive spot, where all the owners meet in one or two places hidden in the jungle near the house. There the costumes are put on and are removed after the occasion. It is not in good taste for those who brought no disguise to the gathering to visit these spots; the owner and wearer of the costume should remain unknown until the moment he removes it, in the feast house, to hand it over to the host. On the whole, the costumes are entirely profane, and adults and children of both sexes seize the wearers by the back to accompany them in their races. Spix's plate shows two little girls holding on to the principal masqueraders by the fringes of the costume. 292

Use of the costume is the privilege of no specific person, society, or any other organization. The host of the feast, on issuing the invitations, asks anyone he wishes to bring his outfit. Whoever would like to oblige prepares a costume and face mask, the choice of design being entirely up to him; its execution is largely left to his imagination provided he respects certain traditional characteristics.

The generic name of the outfit is na:-rẽ'ɨ̃ᵉ, a word which commonly means "tail" (of a mammal, reptile, or scorpion; na:-kɨra is the word used for the tail of a bird or fish), but actual tails are rarely used. Tessmann calls the mask costume "to'éro," a name (T., tə̃ɨ'-ẽru) that designates only a certain type representing the demons of the clan tə̃ɨ' (*caiarára* monkey). I ascribe about 90 per cent of the costumes to men, 7 per cent to boys between eight and fifteen years old, and the remaining 3 per cent to girls and young women. Thus, the wearers of the two maize outfits shown in plate 17, *e* are a girl of ten and a woman of twenty.

A legend concerning the origin of costumes explains that they represent demons, 292
ñɔɔ' (Marcoy gives mhoho; Ribeiro de Sampaio, hó hó; Spix, itoho; Martius, 773
iticho). 539

*a*) In a cavern in the mountains there lived many demons (ñɔɔ'): ɔ'ma (the tempest), ma'vɨ (the *araparyrana* tree), tə̃ɨ' (caiarára monkey), the female demon bẽru' (butterfly), whom the Tukuna identify with the Yurupari of the lingua geral, and the chief of them all, *ĉerɨ'na*. They wished to have a *feast*, and in order to obtain enough smoked meat they assaulted a Tukuna maloca one stormy night, killing all the inhabitants and dragging off the bodies to their cavern in order to eat them.

After some time the Indians of another maloca went to see their neighbors and, not finding anyone, followed the tracks of the corpses dragged off to the mountains. But as soon as they arrived near the cavern, the *ñɔɔ'* leaped out to seize them; however, they managed to escape and returned to their maloca. [For continuation, see *c*.]

*b*) A number of Tukuna went off to visit their countrymen who lived in va'ɨ-a, at the headwaters of the Rio Cotuhé, a tributary of the Içá. Halfway through the journey, they found a shelter in which to spend the night. While they were camped there, a woman of the group gave birth; because of this event they resolved to remain a few days until she was in condition to accompany them farther. They went out to hunt, but found nothing and had to sleep hungry. In the darkness of the night they heard a gnawing sound. They surrounded and killed the rodent, which was an enormous paca.

All except the parturient and her husband ate of the meat, and on the following day they went out to hunt again, leaving the woman and her little child alone in the shelter. Suddenly she saw a *ñɔɔ'* in human shape approach, saying that the paca had been his son, whose death he came to

292 773 539 avenge. At midnight the *ŋɔɔ'* would come, blowing a snailshell trumpet; those who had not eaten of the paca's flesh must climb a certain species of tree, peeling the bark behind them.

When the hunters returned, the woman recounted to her husband what had occurred, but he answered that this was nonsense; perhaps an old lover had visited [illegible]. She then tried to warn her sister-in-law, who replied that she was obviously in a good humor because she had given birth to a male child. Her brother paid her no attention, either. Then, before nightfall, she tried to find a tree of the species stipulated by the *ŋɔɔ'*.

At midnight the *ŋɔɔ'* left their mountain cavern, blowing "tüe-tüe" on their horns and each one yelling to his own taste. The woman immediately tried to awaken her companions: they did not move, even when she spilled dripping resin from a torch on them. She bit her husband to arouse him, and finally he followed like a sleepwalker. The two climbed up with the infant into the tree selected, peeling the bark behind them. Soon they heard the cries of the rest, who were all massacred by the *ŋɔɔ'*. At daybreak when the family returned to camp they found nothing of their companions except their hammocks. Then they returned to the maloca, where they told what had happened.

*c*) [Continuation of *a* and *b*] Conscious of disaster, the Tukuna, counseled by an old shaman, made a clearing exclusively for the planting of peppers. When the fruits were ripe, they gathered them and went to the cavern of the *ŋɔɔ'*. There they closed the entrance with stakes of paxiuba barriguda, leaving only one opening, where they lighted a great fire. Into this they threw an enormous quantity of peppers, so that the fumes would penetrate the cavern.

Soon a great racket arose from the interior; the Tukuna yelled inside for those among the *ŋɔɔ'* who had not eaten human flesh to come out, and thus it happened: there appeared *ẽcrɨ'ne* playing the turtleshell drum, which was his invention, preceded by a few other *ŋɔɔ'* playing their bamboo horns (kɔ'ʰiri). These were allowed to depart in peace, and they quickly entered another cavern close by, for another part of the underworld. Afterward, two bërɛ' [female butterfly demons] also approached the exit, lamenting and attempting to smother the fire with their enormously elongated breasts. Then they recalled their homes in the mountains, singing their names [see p. 13]. The female demon vaiči'navẽ also arrived, dripping wet as always, and fell upon the fire in order to put it out with the moisture from her body.

All the *ŋɔɔ'* who had eaten human flesh, and whose masks for this reason bear even today a red stripe of urucú in front, died. When the noise within the cavern had ceased, the Tukuna ordered one of their servants of the Yágua tribe to enter; he did not return because some of the *ŋɔɔ'* were still alive and killed him. They again smoked out the cavern, ordering another servant inside to verify the effect. This one walked around the cavern, observing well, and then came out to announce that all the *ŋɔɔ'* were dead. The Tukuna contemplated the bodies carefully, noting all the details, and later copied the *ŋɔɔ'* in their costumes.

292 287 The costumes are made from the *liber* [fibrous bark] of certain species of *Ficus* (l.g., tururí), whose name in Tukuna is not "aichama," as written by Ribeiro de Sampaio and others following his lead, but, according to their quality, pẽyl, nuʰẽ'vẽ, or na'iʰči. The first two species have a dark brown inner bark, but the third is white. A log some twenty centimeters in diameter and of the desired length is cut, and the inner and outer bark are removed by beating with a small, flattened muirapiranga club that has no cutting edge. The bark is peeled off from the wood by being turned inside out, like a glove, ending up in the shape of a tube. Care is taken during this task lest the sun strike the section, which would make the inner bark brittle; for this reason some palm fronds are made into a shelter over the place of work. Also, the presence of children is not permitted, since this would [821] result in prolonged rains. The inner bark, which separates easily from the outer bark, is washed and stretched out to dry. Most of the time the tube is opened so as to form a rectangular piece, which is more easily worked, but a garment may also be made from the whole tube itself.

The sewing is done with an eyed bone needle and tucum thread. For certain 292
types of disguises, trouser legs are made from the same piece, and sleeves of attached pieces are obligatory. Some forms cover the wearer from the head to the middle of the calf with one section. Some of these also have sleeves, others only lateral openings through which the arms are thrust. In still others the wearer's arms remain within the garment, being held close to the body and invisible. Those which do not cover the head are closed about the neck by a threaded string; the garments covering the head have the face represented in the appropriate place on the same piece. The costumes with the head fashioned as a separate section have a kind of cap or sack of tururí that covers the entire head to the breast.

In manufacturing face masks, no matter what the design may be, the Tukuna 532
seem to vie with one another in producing the most horrible countenances, with 293
cheeks of black pitch from the *unaní* (*Moronobea* sp.), protuberant eyes of mirror fragments (formerly bits of mother-of-pearl), great, circular, protruding ears, an enormous, hooked or pointed nose, and a distorted mouth with huge, threatening teeth.

Other masks simply have a face painted on the tururí. Further, a few face masks
carved of wood (for example, those which represent the sun) have pleasant, human [322]
features. Still other masks cover only the head to the torso with one piece, but enlarge the stature of the invisible wearer to the height of two and a half meters by means of a body woven of uarumã strips that rests on the bearer's shoulders. This type ends in an artificial head, which always represents some animal, and never the grimace of a demon.

All the costumes, whether they end in trouser legs or a skirt, have at the hem 292
fringes of envira de matamatá or tururí, which fall to, or almost to, the ground. 776
The most characteristic motifs represented are the following: 532

ɔ'ma, the demon of the wind. (Pl. 16, *a*.) The costume is always of red tururí, with legs and sleeves and with *few* designs. It is equipped with an erect phallus a half meter in length, slightly conical in shape, and testicles the size of a closed fist. It is with this phallus that Wind knocks down the trees of the jungle. The *face* mask is enormous, seventy centimeters or more in length, and of corresponding width. The ears are almost a half meter in diameter. I also saw one costume that had on its head an enormous bush of vines and second-growth plants which made it even more disproportionate. In his hand ɔ'ma bears a globular whistle (pl. 16, *d*) with an attached air tube, made of a small calabash and a bamboo tube, the whole covered with tururí. With this instrument, which produces a low, mournful cry, he imitates the noise of a storm. Especially when the hour approaches to hand over the mask, ɔ'ma attacks the spectators with his phallus, particularly the men, since the women soon flee, and tries to knock them down during the pursuit. If he turns against the women, it may happen that one of the more resolute, amid general hilarity, will seize and hold him by the phallus. Speaking in Portuguese to the Neobrazilians, the Tukuna call ɔ'ma the "Mother [!] of the Wind."

bërɯ', the female butterfly demon. (Pl. 17, *b*.) This demon is also represented in a red tururí costume with sleeves and trouser legs. On the chest are painted the elongated breasts that characterize her. On the outside of both sleeves is a wheel of cipó, 60 cm. in diameter and covered with tururí, representing the wings. The *face* mask, however, is much smaller than that of the preceding costume. The nose is *fashioned* of a spiraled strip of liana, in imitation of a butterfly's proboscis.

dyẽ'vaẽ, the water demon. (Pl. 16, *c*.) This figure is 2.6 m. tall, not counting the *feelers*. It has neither arms nor legs. The head, which resembles that of a catfish, has a mouth opened upward and is garnished with long feelers.

ma'vį, the araparyrana tree. (Pl. 18, *b*.) The fruits of this tree have an odor and anciently
292 had an agreeable taste, since lost because the culture hero ɛ'pi dropped them into curare before
776 leaving the earth. The costume of red or white tururí, which sometimes has sleeves but never
532 trouser legs, covers the wearer from head to foot. The faceless head is conical and has on top a plume of uarumã strips to the tips of which are attached small white plaques of burity frond-stalks, rhomboid or divided, which represent the fruit of the araparyrana. The characteristic ornament of the costume consists of a painted, toothed J, simple or double. A rod is carried in
[534] the right hand, while the left holds a long, slim bamboo whistle introduced into the mouth through a small orifice in the tururí; today this whistle is almost always replaced by the long stem of a papaya leaf.

čavį', maize. (Pl. 17, *a*.) The outfit, of white tururí painted with vertical stripes, has no face, no arms, and no legs. The conical head ends in a tuft representing a corn tassel. Two imitations of ears of corn are attached to each side, one about the height of the elbow, the other just below.

tɔį', caiarára monkey (*Cebus albifrons*) (pl. 18, *a*) and taikįrẽ', prego monkey (*Cebus fatuellus*) (pl. 18, *c*) are the two commonest types of costumes. Individually, the representation differs greatly, and in neither can one distinguish the animals whose names the represented demons bear, except that one or the other is shown with a phallus in the shape characteristic of the species. The faces are always diabolical; the garments, of red or white tururí, have no trouser legs and rarely have sleeves, the arms protruding through lateral openings.

The imagination of the wearers has free play in the ornamental painting of the
292 tururí, so that one observes modern airplanes represented side by side with tradi-
[177] tional designs. These outfits are characterized by rattles suspended by wooden
293 hooks, or on fantastically long and thick spears, or even on a smooth stick of wood 25 cm. in length by 2 cm. in diameter; with these the masqueraders rhythmically
[534] beat against the hooks. Once I saw nine of these masqueraders holding a log as thick as a man's arm horizontally before them, with which they beat out the measure. Another carried a handful of slim, pointed rods of anajá ribs or similar material, which he threw, two or three at a time, like assegais, against the wall of the girl's seclusion room, where they remained sticking. The spectators shouted for him to throw them at the figure of the deer painted on the wall.

These tɔį' masqueraders always comport themselves in a very impetuous, cocky
881 manner, beating on the house thatch before entering, and galloping furiously to and fro through the center of the festive house, with no regard for those who may be inside. After a while they present themselves in a threatening attitude before the jars, demanding drink, some of the tɔį' giving in exchange "their son" (pl. 16, *d*), a doll of tururí in more or less human form with a demon's face, which
[524] is carried suspended from the backs and which after the feast serves as a plaything of the little girls.

[415] Those who have a face mask in one piece with the body costume drink by means of the tube of a papaya leafstalk. Afterward they again race off to disappear in the jungle, where they remove and store their masks; they never rest or sit down while in the house. As soon as a masked dancer, regardless of his type, enters the house, a few persons, sometimes even the owner or his wife, array themselves behind him and, holding on to his costume, accompany him in his mad career through the dwelling; to escort the taikįrẽ' or tɔį' thus is no simple matter, but it forms the favorite entertainment of the older children of both sexes. Probably this is what Spix meant to show in his plate with the two little girls holding the fringes of the masquerader in front of the rest.

On the third day of the feast, sometimes even on the second, but always after the vərēkį's hair is plucked, the masqueraders, after receiving a fee in the form of smoked meat, remove their costumes in the center of the house and leave them in a heap to be turned over to the host. 881

A few more comments may be made on the three illustrations of the masked race of the Tukuna in the literature with which I am familiar, the accounts of Spix, Marcoy, and Bates. Spix's artist, when he recomposed the scene, evidently no longer had the masks which Spix had collected or, if he did have them, they were incomplete, so that all or most of them were reconstructed from memory. Only in this way may be explained the following details: the strange cloth tangas worn by some Indians of both sexes; the nudity of nine of the thirteen masqueraders, who are shown wearing only headdresses, which never happens; the lack of fringes on the costumes (which probably had already been removed when Spix acquired the costumes);[18] the uncovered face of one of the masqueraders, which is contrary to all the elementary rules; the child carried in the arms instead of in a sling; and the turtleshell drum being beaten from the wrong side. Finally, the solemn pace of the persons in the illustration disagrees with the text, which states that they danced and leaped about like goats. Equally in disagreement with the text are the age of the child as portrayed and the color of the woman playing the drum. 881 114

Even less accurate, however, is the representation of the masquerade in Marcoy's work; it suggests that the author never attended such a ceremony and never had at hand the costumes, which he probably never succeeded in seeing. The best of the three accounts is that of Bates, who, however, conveys the erroneous impression that the ceremony he saw was a wedding.

*Songs of the masquerades.*—It appears that anciently each type of masked dancer owned its own songs, which the performers sang when they presented themselves. But nowadays very few know how to recite them, and many chants are already forgotten, just as are many stories referring to the origin of certain costumes. The following three songs are literal translations from Tukuna texts. 533 539 881

### SONG OF THE TWO SAGUINS

The *feast* was ending. In the hut she was making a sieve. She caressed the marmoset [*saguin*] and said to him: "dya/dyu, if only thou wert a man to sing for food for me!" He then left. On the way he met his brother-in-law. "Let us enter [the feast house]!" he sang. He repeated what his mistress had said to him. "My mistress, dyēkʊ'čina, said to me: 'dya/dyu, if only thou wert a man to sing for food for me!'" They gave her smoked meat from the feast. His brother-in-law dɔ'kara-ćinį [long ears] answered. He sang: "Go ahead! Put it [the smoked meat] on top of my ear; thou shalt see how tiny my hand is!" 539

### SONG OF THE MAIZE MASQUERADE

O mortal! If thou hadst not been well guarded already, I should not have been taken away for thee from the underworld ōča'ku. In ancient times aria'na, by being immortal, took me from the underworld ōča'ku! (See pp. 112 f.)

### SONG OF THE ROTTEN-LOG MASQUERADE

Penica-pau![19] yata'-yata', slowly or thou wilt splinter ĕ'ranćaĭ' [name of the rotten log], the customary place of the yellow macaws, the jutting end [of the log]!

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[18] These fringes are removed after the presentation of the masks. See p. 90.

[19] A southern Brazilian variant of *pica-pau*, "woodpecker."

881 *Beginning of the ceremony.*—By this time, if not before, the paternal uncle of the present or prospective vorëkį has assumed his function as director of the ceremony, called vərëkį-čǫįį', "drink of the girl." Sometimes he hangs his hammock next to the front wall of the seclusion room, since he is responsible for the girl. He is aided by his wife and the vərëkį's mother, and by other relatives if necessary, in serving the drinks. The girl's father takes no part in the ceremony that directly concerns her person; the guests are his responsibility.

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[302]

*The arrival of the guests.*—In the afternoon the first canoe bringing guests draws up to the feast house. If the guest is someone of importance, the owner of the house, beating his drum and accompanied by some members of the family, who strike the rattle stick on the ground, goes to the door to receive and conduct the visitor. The guest goes up to the house, with long tucum fibers trailing down behind his back. His costume, if he has one, remains concealed in the canoe. Some time later, his wife also goes up, with the burden basket and the children, to hang up the hammocks in the feast house in the place indicated by the hosts. The recent arrivals greet all those who are already in the house with: "Nʊ'ma!," and all respond with the same word. Everyone is daubed with geñipapo on the face, the women more liberally than the men (fig. 10), and the savage appearance that this paint gives to the features often contrasts strangely with the civilized clothing and the perfume flask, the neck of which protrudes from the coat pocket. The sides of the house are filled with hammocks and baggage, but the center remains free for the dance and the ceremonies. The men, almost all of whom carry their carved and painted dance staves (see p. 41) and their own small drums, seat themselves on long benches, which are customarily placed at the edge of the central space. Here the "uncle" of the vərëkį first gives them a swallow of paiauarú brew in a small gourd and then afterward serves the paiauarú proper in a large gourd.

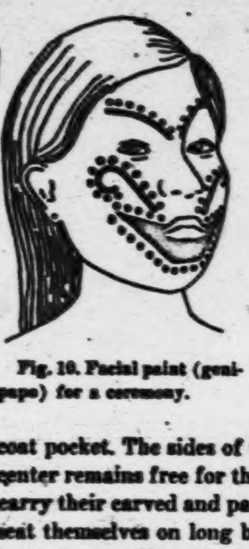

Fig. 10. Facial paint (genipapo) for a ceremony.

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*The beginning of the dance.*—Soon some arise, place the dance staves across their shoulders, hang the little drums on the lower tips, and, hitting the drums with a measured beat, begin to march by twos and threes in single file around the margin of the central space. They are preceded by the owner of the house with his drum, or by some other member of the family who occasionally takes over, it being a question of honor for the players not to stop the drumbeat once the ceremony has started. Thus passes the eve of the celebration.

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*Preparation for dressing the girl.*—After midnight, about two or three o'clock in the morning, the vərëkį ceremony begins with the preparation of genipapo dye with which to decorate her, and also of white tururí for her costume. A basket containing some forty genipapo fruits is placed in the center of the house, together with a scraper, some leaves of a plant called nʊⁿuⁿ (*Aroidea ?*), two muirapiranga mallets, and two sticks of white tururí, 2.5 m. long and 5 cm. thick. Half a meter below the upper tip of these a circular furrow is cut in the bark.

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The paternal uncle selects three persons from among those present, preferably from the clans of the vərĕkị's moiety, and hands them the genipapo and the two wooden mallets. A man, beating a small drum, and a woman with a rattle stick remain standing to one side, as is customary in all ceremonial acts, while the other guests continue their march around the group to the sound of the drums. The man holding the genipapo lets loose a loud, prolonged cry: "yę!" The chorus responds with the same yell, and immediately the three persons selected fall to their task, one scraping genipapo, the other two peeling off the tururí bark by rhythmic beating with the mallets.

From time to time, for the three workers the uncle substitutes three others; to scrape genipapo he calls upon women as well as men. Slowly the tururí bark, turned inside out, begins to descend, and the mass of scraped genipapo mounts higher on the nʊⁿuⁿ leaves. However, before this work is started, the paternal uncle goes to the girl's retreat to close her nostrils by a magic gesture that consists of twisting something; if she smells the odor of genipapo prematurely, she will die. Out in the enclosure is heard the blast of the uaricánas. The vərĕkị's mother goes to the seclusion room to measure the length needed for the tururí fringes of the armbands. As soon as the two pieces of tururí are peeled to this length, the bark is pulled back to its natural position, and the two bark tubes are separated from the wood simultaneously by a circular cut. The scraper is placed in the basket, the leaves containing the genipapo pulp in front of it, the two peeled logs to the side, and the tubes of tururí are doubled and placed on top. It is now 5 A.M.

Shortly thereafter the genipapo scrapings are squeezed. The paternal uncle with his clan companion, both clutching rattle sticks and accompanied by drummers, carry the two pieces of tururí in a solemn procession to the water's edge, where they remove the outer bark, being careful to give a sudden jerk to both pieces at the same time, and lift each into the air while a cry of "yę: !" comes from all participants. The pieces are washed carefully until they become whitish, after which the performers carry them back with true solemnity, marching with them round the feast house three or four times before entering. The sections of bark are opened by a lengthwise incision and are hung on the uaricána enclosure to dry in the sun.

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*The painting of the girl.*—Now follows the ritual of painting the girl with the previously prepared genipapo dye. A basin containing the dye and two corncobs is placed in the uaricána enclosure, from which the instruments have already been removed at daybreak. The women open the little door of the seclusion room which opens into the enclosure and lead out the vərĕkị, who is completely naked; she covers her eyes with her hands to protect them from the sunlight.

[301]

On her knees and ankles she wears narrow bands woven of tucum (formerly of cotton). Once in the enclosure, she is placed erect on the leaves containing the squeezed genipapo pulp, facing toward the side belonging to her moiety. However, on two occasions when I was present the vərĕkị stood on a large, flattened ball of tucum fibers, which her uncle removed at the end of the ceremony. She had made these threads during the period of her seclusion, to prove that she would be a hardworking girl and in gratitude to her uncle for all his care of her.

The enclosure is full of women. One of them arranges the vərĕkị's hair—the locks of the forehead are drawn to the front, the others to the back—tying them

881 302 with a horizontal fillet in this position. The shaman arrives, and grasps the hair of the girl's forehead, making gestures as if he were wrenching it. Still holding the girl firmly by the hair of her forehead, he calls all the relatives so that each one of them, first the men, then the women, may cut off a lock of hair, which they bear off with a shout of "dyę: !" and immediately hand over to the uncle. The shaman twists the ends of the hair clipped from the forehead, because, when the culture hero dyəi' first cut the hair from a vərĕkį's forehead, a lot of blood ran from the cut. One by one the male relatives now dip a corncob into the dye and paint a curved line on each side of the vərĕkį's spine from bottom to top (fig. 11), raising the corncob high each time they complete the upward sweep and shouting in chorus: "dyę: !" Afterward the female relatives finish painting her completely with the same dye. This done, she again returns to the seclusion room, the leaves with the genipapo pulp are carried behind her, and the door is once more securely locked. It is now eight o'clock in the morning.

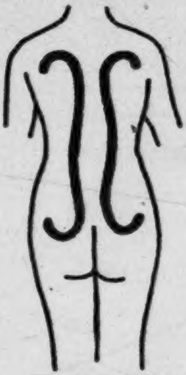

Fig. 11. Painting of girl with genipapo for girl's puberty ceremony; design on back.

881 *Transportation of the smoked meat to the feast house.*—Now the rites which have as a direct object the person of the vərĕkį are interrupted by another act of general character, which some, however, quite properly, celebrate on the eve of the feast. At nine o'clock in the morning the host gathers all the guests together in the house and, always beating the drum, conducts them, decorated with tucum fibers, three times in a column round the house and finally to the kitchen. Upon their arriving there, a woman, generally the uncle's wife, paints on [302] each cheek of every person a small spot of urucú, with her fingertips, sticking a bit of hawk down on each spot. As always, another person, standing to one side, shakes the rattle stick.

Going one by one in single file to the kitchen, the guests receive from the uncle, who stands next to the platform holding the smoked meat, a piece of meat, which each guest places on his shoulder. Then, always with the host in front, they again circle the house three or four times; when they enter, the uncle is already waiting by the other platform next to the seclusion room. One by one they hand him the pieces of meat they have received, and these are laid in their new places. Afterward the procession, making a few turns about the house to the beat of drums, again passes before the uncle, the guests handing him the bundles of tucum previously requested, and he hangs these from a beam near the seclusion room. The masked races customarily start at this hour, groups of five to ten persons, or even individuals, participating.

881 292 *The girl's costume.*—The feather and other ornaments of the girl are piled on top of a tururí cloth with the aid of a cord stretched horizontally between two poles set vertically in the floor in the center of the house. The uncle directs this service, which is carried out at his request by qualified men from among the guests. The feather bracelets have already been woven by female relatives on the eve of the ceremony (pl. 11, *b*). The main task is mounting and painting the macaw-feather crown and the confection of fringes for the bracelets, which are

made of the pieces of white tururí the preparation of which began the ceremony. 881 About two or three o'clock in the afternoon all is ready (pl. 12, *a–h*), and the 202 vərĕkį's male and female relatives try the pieces on themselves, the men and women alternately dancing with them.

In general, the vərĕkį is decorated before sunset, within the uaricána enclosure, or in the seclusion room if it is already dark and the uaricánas have been returned. The girl again stands facing in the proper cardinal direction. In addition [302] to the black dye which she has already received, she is now painted with urucú as well, on which hawk plumage is glued. She receives a cotton tanga, and over it [237] is placed a kind of wide belt or tanga of strings of white glass beads of an antiquated type; she also receives pectorals of glass beads. Then ornaments are placed [301] on her arms: bracelets woven with toucan throat feathers, long macaw (canindé) feathers thrust vertically into the bracelet, and the fringes of white tururí. [239]

In front and back, falling from the neck to the hips, are two or more cordons of white tururí, each one with between fifteen and twenty toucan tails, which have been removed in one piece with the white abdominal feathers of the birds, interspersed with bird skins with bright plumage and snailshell rattles with bone clappers. Finally, on the vərĕkį's head is placed the crown of tail feathers from the red macaw and plumes from the heron and royal hawk (pl. 12, *a*). If the ceremony takes place within the uaricána enclosure, the vərĕkį takes care to cover her eyes with the tururí fringes. Then one of the women brings a heap of nu$^a$u$^a$ leaves, which she distributes among the others; the vərĕkį squats on her heels; all walk slowly round her and tap her lightly with the leaves, reversing the direction of march several times. At last all shout in chorus: "dyę: !" and throw the leaves on top of the roof thatch. Perhaps it was this ceremony that Marcoy, without having seen it, wished to reproduce, and that appeared in his plate as a scene of flagellation.

The vərĕkį is again locked up in the seclusion room, where she must stand until 881 the hour of release on the following dawn, with her hands supported on a horizontal beam and her face turned to the correct quarter of the house wall, behind which the musical instruments sound without interruption. She is not permitted [515] to scratch herself with her nails, but must use a personal little stick, thrust behind her into the house thatch. According to one of my informants, in the old days, for this purpose a piece of wood was carved in the form of a hand with the fingers curled.

*The festive mush* (*mogica*).—At nightfall the vərĕkį's relatives bring a large pot full of mush (mogica) from the kitchen to the house. This food is distributed among the guests, who eat it, then continue to dance and drink through the night until about two or three o'clock in the morning, when it is time to remove the vərĕkį definitely from seclusion.

*Removal of the girl from seclusion.*—The paternal uncle, his wife, the vərĕkį's mother, her female relatives, and some brother or cousin enter the seclusion room by the side door. They seize the girl very carefully on each side, pull the feather crown down over her eyes, and begin to dance with her, as well as the space will permit, always four paces forward to the front wall and four paces back.

881 The eipós securing the laths of burity palm frond are cut, and the laths are pushed to the two sides like curtains, so that the vərēkį and her retinue may pass through. Very slowly, always advancing and retreating, the group approach the aperture, delay further in leaving, moving forward and falling back, and finally arrive at the central place in the house where they continue their seesaw dance, changing places slowly at the front. It is believed that in this hour the girl is exposed to the greatest danger, hence her relatives hold her by the arms with the greatest care, supporting her in front and back and holding the feather crown firmly over her eyes.

881 114 The way Bates explains the care taken of the vərēkį by the female relatives is amusing. Convinced that he was witnessing a marriage, he writes: "During this whole time"[illegible] the bride, decked out with feather ornaments, was under the charge of the elder squaws, whose business seemed to be seduously to keep the bridegroom at a safe distance until the end of the dreary period of dancing and boozing." And in the plate we see the "bride" between two women, while a little farther away is the "bridegroom," making sheep's eyes.

881 During this dance with the vərēkį it was customary to sing certain verses no longer generally known today. A literal translation from the original Tukuna text follows.

[539] 1. Oh, what is it now that our vərēkį has come among us, all covered with plumage?
2. Oh, what dost thou say now of her toucan feathers?
3. Like a caterpillar [in chrysalis] our vərēkį was placed in seclusion by us!
4. [Challenging the guests' slight animation]: Art not thou absolutely ashamed to chatter like agoutis?
5. I shall not become a disagreeable anthill!

After five o'clock the group with the vərēkį slowly commences to go forth into the yard in their backward-forward dance, continuing to dance there and passing several times around the house until sunset, when the group halts, the feather crown is raised from the vərēkį's eyes, and her arms are released. A shaman lays [789] a firebrand before her. With rapid movements of his fingers he removes some invisible object from his own head and, with a gesture of rolling it in front of his body, lays it on the firebrand. Then, handing this to the vərēkį and pointing out to her a pupunheira tree—or, if there is none, any other tree—he tells her: "Throw it at our enemy!" She throws the firebrand against the tree, saying: "tṅṅ! ča-rį-ʊ'anįª na ma dɔɔª'ëë!" (?; ča-rį ʊ'anįª, my enemy; dɔɔª'ëë, "not to bear, support"). From this moment on she can again move about freely without her relatives' protection; she then usually places herself behind one of the mummers to race with him, and so she continues to dance among the others until the hour of depilation arrives, before or shortly after midday.

881 302 *The depilation.*—Interrupting the dance, the paternal uncle pulls out a lock of hair from the vərēkį, then she is led to the center of the house, where she is seated on a tapir hide—nowadays this is almost always superseded by a tururí cloth. A jar full of paiauarú and a smaller pot containing a brew of this drink are placed before her. The uncle and another person with a rattle stick remain beside these jugs. Three to six women sit in a circle round the vərēkį, on the hide, and immedi-

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[illegible] Three or four days!

ately begin to pluck out her hair in small swatches by rapid, vigorous tugs. 881
According to Tessmann, this is done "with the aid of the milk of a tree"; most of 302
the time, however, no auxiliary substance is used at all.

Only rarely do the Tukuna apply friction to the scalp with ashes and lemon juice or with ant (tracuá) eggs, repeating the treatment twice. Nor do they regularly get the girl intoxicated in order to make her stand the operation better. Some girls even reject the drinks which are offered them. Most of them bear the oper- [147]
ation with evident calm, only occasionally giving some slight demonstration of discomfort when hairs are plucked from the temples and from the nape of the neck. Nevertheless, I saw one girl soon show pain (probably more than she actually felt); although she did not cry out, she twisted and lashed about desperately. They then gave her several doses of paiauarú broth, with which she became so drunk that she was very nearly unable to carry out the rest of the ceremony.

The plucked hair is piled together on a mat and then placed in a sack of tururí. 881
Since it is regarded as of no importance, I easily succeeded in obtaining hair for my collection. At the end there is left only a small lock on top of the head, which is anointed with red urucú and twisted, finally being jerked out by the uncle and raised into the air, accompanied by shouts of "dyę: !" Immediately thereafter, the vərëkį replaces the feather crown on her head and gets up; the uncle seizes her by one arm, another relative grasping her by the other; and away they gallop in a crazy charge around the room, gesturing, with the last lock of hair plucked out, toward the spectators' genitals.

Today the uncle rarely fulfills his ancient obligation of preaching to the vərëkį an energetic sermon on her future duties while she listens and sobs. Seated on the tapir hide in front of her, after the depilation, he lectures her more or less as follows:

"You may now leave seclusion and marry. Be diligent! A lazy girl will also [867]
have a lazy husband, like herself. Keep respect in your words to your parents and brothers. Be obedient to your mother, never going against her wishes. Above all, you should never abandon her! Even after you are married, take care of her." And so forth.

*The presentation of the masks.*—The masqueraders make their last entrance, run in a frenzy through the house, each immediately receiving drink and a piece of smoked meat from some member of their own families, and rapidly remove their costumes. These are piled around the vərëkį, who is again seated on a piece of tururí cloth in the center of the house so that her head scarcely peeps over the top. While the dance of the others continues about her to the sound of drums, the women of the house, seated together on the heap of costumes, take them up one by one, separate the face masks, undo the seams of the costumes, remove the fringes, and roll up the tururí cloths in a large cylindrical package, which will be stored. They are now the property of the host and of the vərëkį's mother.

*The girl's bath.*—Before the vərëkį bathes herself, an arrow with a round wooden tip is stuck at the entrance to the house, slightly inclined outward. All among the present company that possess magical powers—and there are sometimes a half dozen—approach the girl, gesturing over her, a process that may well last an hour. Afterward, some five or six men related to the vərëkį lift her up, 881 still on the tapir hide, and carry her to the river's edge, where the mother and the paternal uncle's wife remove her ornaments, while the arrow is stuck in the water some four meters from shore. Completely stripped, the vərëkį kneels naked in the water, and the same shamans who were busy with the arrow now wash her with [842] handfuls of water, always passing the liquid from feet to head to prevent her becoming prematurely pregnant. If the shamans overdo in this task, the girl will never have children; if, afterward, a girl is sterile, the same shamans must be called in again to undo the spell. Finally, the vərëkį crawls on all fours between the legs of one of the shamans, who remains standing in the water next to the arrow. Giving a leap and circling the arrow, she dives several times into the deeper water. While she is going ashore to be decorated anew, one of the shamans pulls out the arrow and holds it vertically over the surface of the river, while with the other hand he makes gestures with water toward the arrow. Once I saw a vərëkį, who was not carried to the bath but went afoot, throw before her path handfuls of ashes, on which she walked in order to protect herself against some malignant influence emanating from the earth.

*The close of the ceremony.*—The seclusion room and the platform beside it for the smoked meat are demolished, the wreckage being piled in the center of the house. This is swept, and all the rubbish, which is naturally considerable, is heaped up in burden baskets. Each guest takes an armful of the debris, and the women carry away the burden baskets full of rubbish, while others bundle up the dance staves, spears, and masquerade hooks. Thereupon all follow in procession to the river, where they throw their loads into the water (pl. 11, *c*). Unless this is done, all the residents of the house will sicken and slowly die.

On this occasion everyone takes a bath without removing his clothes; that is, [515] men, women, and children drag and toss one another into the river. Soon the clayey edge, wetted down by those entering and leaving, becomes so slick that any [522] push is sufficient to force a person to slip into the river. The scene arouses great hilarity and at times has a certain erotic stamp, but it is still an excellent refresher to raise the spirits of those who have drunk to excess.

The guests change their wet and muddy festive attire for workaday clothing, load their canoes, and leave, but those remaining behind take to their hammocks only after emptying the jars to the last drop of paiauarú. The house is again carefully swept and, as the only memory of the feast, there remains the vərëkį with a cloth wrapped round her head (pl. 15, *a*), costume fringes thrown over the highest rafters, a few costumes dangling from the house posts, and some dance staves that escaped destruction thrust beneath the roof thatch.

No remedy is applied to the vərëkį's denuded head; however, I once saw a [302] woman with a beautiful head of hair rub it over the girl's cranium immediately [757] after the depilation. I have never seen, or heard it said, that the operation has any disagreeable consequences for the girl except that she must wear a handkerchief tied round her head until the new hair has grown.

In the old days there was an additional ceremony immediately after the close of the feast, of which a remembrance is preserved in legends. The vərëkį was taken by her relatives to some fishing spot in the igarapé and, standing erect in the water, was washed with a solution of the drug timbó. It was hoped that this

would ensure a grand catch of fish. The following legend, "The Son of Timbó," 881
concerns this ancient ceremony.

The relatives of the vɔrëkį took her with them into the jungle in order to pull timbó for her 881
bath. While so occupied they left her sitting on a nodular outgrowth of a timbó root, where she 773
remained waiting the entire time while the relatives were busy in the timbó stand. Without 539
having had any sexual relations whatsoever she became pregnant by the spirit of the timbó and gave birth to a son. When, after six months, she carried the child for the first time to take a bath in the igarapé, she noticed that as soon as she dipped the little boy into the water, the fish died in great numbers around him. When, in the second bath, this phenomenon was repeated, she realized that the boy was the cause and that he was the son of timbó. From then on she no longer bathed him in the igarapé, for fear that all the fish might die, but bathed him on land. When the boy grew older, his relatives used him to kill fish, allowing him to swim a little in the igarapé.

Koch-Grünberg collected an Arekuna legend of a boy who produced the same effects.[11]

A couple of hours [boat trip] above the settlement of Santa Rita an igarapé 103
debouches from the left bank of the Solimões; the old maps give it the name of Quiriá, but today it is called Igarapé da Rita. This name, which it bore even before the founding of Santa Rita in 1870, gave rise to the following story.

In this igarapé there was a Tukuna girl called Rita in Portuguese. One day, after her puberty 773
ceremony, her relatives prepared a solution of timbó in a large basin made from a paxiuba
spatulate. Taking the girl, they all went for a turn about the igarapé, where the present homes 103
of Nino and Sebastião are now, and where there is a very deep sink (poço), which never dries up. 539
They seated Rita on a horizontal fallen log in the igarapé and washed her with timbó. The fish began to die, and the current carried them off downstream. Everyone followed the prize, leaving Rita seated alone on her log. When they returned she had disappeared, and not the slightest trace of her was ever seen again; hence they were convinced that some immortal had carried her off.

*Supplementary ceremony.*—After six or eight months, when the vɔrëkį's hair 881
has grown again, a supplementary ceremony is celebrated, like the one after the first depilation (see p. 90), and like it called dyɔ-pa'kẽẽ (to cut the hair across the forehead). The owner of the house, when he wishes to celebrate it, says: "čɛ'i nɛ'i ẽ' ča gʊ'u" ("I shall burn the fleas"), since they believe that, unless this is done, fleas will increase in a disagreeable way. For this feast drinks are also prepared, but a smaller group of guests is invited and no costumes are requested. Uaricánas and seclusion are also lacking.

On this occasion the leftovers from the previous celebration are burned in the center of the house—the masks and fringes but not the tururí cloth of the costumes, which they utilize as mats. The coals of the fire are passed round the heels [751]
of those present to prevent them from being attacked by fleas.

*Subsequent menstruation.*—There are few restrictions for this. Only if the flow 841
is very strong does the menstruating girl retire for a while. The spirits of certain trees such as the kapok—*sumahuma* (vɔči'ne), which the Tukuna identify with the *curupira* of the Neobrazilians—have the tendency to wound menstruating women with "arrows," even by day; this is why women do not like to stray far
from the house yard while menstruating. Contact with menstrual blood makes a [827]
man inefficient (l.g., *panéma;* T., ńẽẽį) in hunting and fishing, and even in other [755]
activities. A pepper bath is the most efficacious antidote.

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[11] Koch-Grünberg, Vom Roroaima zum Orinoco, 2:70.

### MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

582 According to my Tukuna informants, theoretically a girl may marry as soon after
the puberty ceremony as she wishes. However, in practice I have never heard of
a girl marrying until the hair had grown anew and had been clipped again,
while many remain spinsters for some years afterward, if not for their entire
[836] lives. Even today sexual intercourse before the puberty ceremony is unimaginable
and, according to some, this held formerly for premarital intercourse as well.

I have reason to suppose that nowadays the jungle and the silent waters of the
836 igapó, over which the small fishing canoes rapidly glide without leaving any betraying
evidence, conceal the secrets of many lovers, whose parents suspect nothing.
The Tukuna, however, because of the few barriers to marriage apart from
incest rules, vigorously resent any deceit on this score, which may result in very
serious conflicts. Parents consider secret relations between a man and their
[584] daughter a grave offense; they demand an explanation from the imprudent man
who did not respect "their home" and advise him that he had better marry the
girl. If he refuses, which almost never happens, his only recourse is flight.

Some thirty years ago a certain Marcolino čaita' married the elder of two
684 daughters of one daura'ńkį. After some time he became enamored of his sister-in-law.
If he had asked permission to marry her, daura'ńkį probably would have
given it, but čaita' abandoned his wife and fled with her sister. Accompanied by
his brother, daura'ńkį furiously pursued the pair and overtook them; he slapped
them both, bound the girl and threw her into his canoe, and let čaita' go scot free
on the beach. As soon as the son-in-law found himself free, he jumped on daura'ńkį,
who killed him with a club during the struggle.

Rape never occurs among the Tukuna, who know of this crime only from the
[177] Neobrazilians. When I attempted to get some concrete information on this, those
whom I approached merely answered: "If she will not—who may take her?" Certain
684 *civilizados* who assumed that such a crime could be committed with impunity
648 against an Indian woman have come off very badly with the Tukuna. A trader
called Joaquim Balieiro arrived in his craft, manned by two civilized paddlers, at
the place of an Indian on Lake Cajary, where he found at home only a young boy
named Izidoro čěča'kakį and his virgin sister. The trader requested permission to
pass the night in the house, which was granted. Later on, the three Neobrazilians
conceived the plan of getting the boy drunk so as to be able to take advantage of
the girl. They gave him plenty of *cachaça*, but let the cat out of the bag prematurely,
before he had become sufficiently drunk. Thus čěča'kakį understood
what was afoot and attacked the three with fury, shooting and killing the trader,
while the paddlers barely succeeded in escaping. One of them, whom I knew personally,
was gravely wounded. Back among their own kind, they said that čěča'kakį
had assaulted them with intent of robbery.

Again, in a certain igarapé there dwelt an Indian who had two young daughters; farther upstream lived two rubber gatherers. Going down to their tent on the bank of the Solimões one day, these two found the Indian there. Seeing that he was lingering, the two hurried back, entered his house, deflowered the two girls, and then left in their canoe for their camp. Shortly after, the Indian returned and, learning what had happened, called some relatives, scouted out the two rubber gatherers by land, fired at them from the beach, and killed them both. 684 648

*Courtship and marriage.*—A type of marriage preferred by the Tukuna is illustrated in figure 12: A marries the sister of B, while B marries A's sister. 582 Generally, the suitor asks for the girl through her paternal uncle, who also exercises decisive authority in this matter. 584 The initiative never stems directly or indirectly from the girl. In ancient times the parents and uncles arranged the marriage when bride and groom were still children, sometimes only five years old, I was told. After puberty the young people were obliged to carry out the agreement made by the parents and were requested to "get used to each other." Personally, I have never come in contact with an arrangement of this sort.

Some youths who realize their moral or economic unfitness for marriage, or who are afraid of the girl's parents, delay excessively the declaration to her paternal uncle while continuing to boast before their comrades: "She is mine!" Thus they come to excite ridicule and are finally forced by their companions' derision to desist or finally to declare themselves. Perhaps the only intermediary the swain can procure is the girl's father; he, however, always sends the suitor to the girl's uncle, who has the right of veto, since the parents habitually avoid opposition in order not to provide a motive for future discord between the families. It is only afterward that the girl's mother has an understanding with her future son-in-law, seriously advising him to treat her daughter well; otherwise, she will take her back. Meanwhile the request and subsequent declarations are so handled that persons not concerned are never aware of them; any attempt by an outsider to interfere would be considered an affront. If the girl peremptorily refuses to accept the suitor, not even her uncle, notwithstanding that he has given his consent, can force the issue. A curious reason for refusal was given by dɔ'tanįna when one bere' proposed marriage. She rejected him because he was "too hard a worker." bere' is known as one of the most diligent Indians in the region—a planter of large clearings, an assiduous fisherman, and an able canoewright. dɔ'tanįna, known as a sluggard, has nothing and does not know how to make anything, lives at her brothers' expense, and with good reason was afraid that, if bere' were her husband, his activities would mean too much work for her.

Apparently, some suitors muster the necessary courage to declare themselves only after imbibing a good quantity of paiauarú at some feast attended by the [273] girl's family. Even so, the business is broached without the other guests' being aware of it, since the youth never publicly announces his request but asks the girl's uncle privately, in some corner where no attention will be attracted. At the close of the party the numerous guests suddenly learn, though with no great surprise, that So-and-so and What's-her-name are already married (*que fulano e sicrana já estão casados*). It is not the custom to give presents either to the bride 583 or to her parents, nor do the latter demand chores from the bridegroom before the wedding.

*Polygamy.*—It is legitimate for a man to marry more than one woman at the 595 same time, but polygamy is rare. I heard of only one Indian who had three wives, viz., the late Domingos ču'nekį, who died between 1910 and 1920, last chief at Igarapé de São Jeronymo and a famous shaman. He married three sisters whom

593 their father had turned over to him, one after the other, because of his high regard for čʊ'nekɨ. Besides this typical example of sororal polygyny, I know of three other unions in which an Indian married two sisters simultaneously.

The levirate is said to have been formerly frequent and considered meritorious,
595 but not obligatory. I myself have never encountered it, but I do know of two
587 widowers each of whom married the widow of his brother; each widow already had children. More numerous are instances of bigamy in which the two women are not sisters and belong to different clans; I knew of eight such unions.

Sometimes the particular circumstances that prompt bigamy are interesting.
595 Antonio juruti', though married for many years, never had any children, so he took another wife, a niece of the first—but with the same result. When João Arapaço va'ičakɨ's first wife had a child, at his wife's request he summoned her niece to his house to help her, since the niece was getting on badly with her stepfather, who could not abide her. Some time later, va'ičakɨ took this nurse of his child as his second wife, with her aunt's full consent. The wife of a certain Jeronymo of the Rio Jacurapá happened to fall ill just when his large crop of manioc should have been made into flour, for which reason he asked for, and received in marriage, his second wife.

There are, however, women who will not consent to their husband's taking a second helpmate. The best sculptress of tucumã figurines, ɛ'kɨrane, was married to Anastacio daunɛ'kɨ, who never begot a child with her. He then proposed to her that he marry a second woman, but she resolutely opposed this, preferring a separation. Anastacio did marry the other woman, who lived only in a state of illness, being passed from one shaman to another, for she also was barren.

In general, two wives live in harmony and help each other unless the difference in their ages is too great. If it is, the situation becomes a bit whimsical. Rufino bɔ/kɨ'rakɨ, some forty years old and married to a woman of the same age, was the father of various children. His eldest daughter was already married and expecting her first child when, at his second daughter's puberty ceremony, he married a girl eighteen years old. The natural consequence of the striking difference in the ages of the two wives was that [illegible] second, instead of considering herself the companion of the first, associated with the young girl, her stepdaughter.

*Jealousy.*—According to Tessmann, in case of adultery the husband fights his
152 rival. But I know of no fights between persons of the same sex because of jealousy.
578 On the other hand, among spouses jealousy causes violent scenes (see p. 51), which
593 may lead to separation.

A husband who realizes that his wife has just reasons for jealousy forces himself to bear calmly vituperation and even a shower of blows, "if he is a serious man," according to the expression of one of my informants, who very calmly confessed that in fifteen years of married life he had been thrashed some twenty times by his jealous wife. The wife receives the same treatment, but such scenes, unless unduly repeated, cause little scandal.

*Divorce.*—I never heard of a husband's having murdered his wife, but what
586 may happen, if there is dissension, is that either will obtain a divorce. The wife's relatives will not permit gross maltreatment of her by the husband; hence, if he maltreats her and conciliatory intervention proves fruitless, they force her to re-

turn to the paternal house. The clearing that her husband made, and which she 586
planted and took care of, is hers, since "a man has arms to make another." In general, a divorced woman's children remain with her, but the former husband may demand them for himself; if so, he cannot be denied them. Also, if the wife's family is in economic difficulties, she may oblige the divorced husband to care for and support the children. Often, women divorced in this way do not marry again but carry on relations with whom they please, that is, away from the parental roof.

Several times I heard older Indians complain of the increasing fickleness with which certain youths contract, and shortly thereafter dissolve, marriages. I observed two marriages in which the young husband abandoned his wife after a week, leaving h[illegible] for no apparent reason, never to return. It appears to me that fickleness in marriage is not only increasing among the youths but is also prevalent, on a smaller scale, among the girls. It is related to the increasing prole- [177]
tarianization of a certain section of the tribe through the influence of industrial establishments in the region. Many of these establishments provide food and prosti- [548]
tutes for the young men whom they employ, making marriage unnecessary for them.

*Adultery.*—In adultery, the woman is the only one considered responsible. Per- 837
haps the informant cited above on defloration would say of this also: "If she will not—who may take her?" A single commission of adultery on the part of either 586
spouse, even though established beyond a doubt, is not held to be sufficient cause for divorce, the problem being solved merely by a blow; only if the act is repeated, does this solution fail. Adultery appears extremely rare in economically well-balanced families. Throughout my entire stay among the Tukuna not one divorce took place in families with a stable economy, nor was there in such families any scandal involving adultery.

*Tendency to matrilocal residence.*—If the Tukuna are right in saying that in 591
the old days malocas were inhabited by families of only one clan, residence must then have been patrilocal. Today there is no fixed rule, but there is a well-established tendency for parents not to let a daughter out of sight and free from their control even after marriage. Compare with this the uncle's counsel to the vərēkɨ: "Never abandon your mother, and look out for her even after marriage" (p. 90); and the prospective mother-in-law's threat to the suitor that she will reclaim her daughter if the latter is not well treated (p. 94).

One family of Igarapé da Rita was visibly disgusted by the marriage of a daughter to an Indian who later went to live with her in the neighborhood of Belém, about twenty-five kilometers away as the crow flies. It appeared that the parents were waiting only for some pretext to dissolve the union, since they were already openly discussing this eventuality. Usually the husband first lives for some time in the house of his in-laws. Some never leave, but most later set up their own establishments not far away. The preferred type of marriage, described earlier in this section, favors this tendency to a certain extent. 593

*Daily life.*—I should emphasize the fact that family life among the Tukuna runs [512]
with extreme calm and monotony. I have associated for months with certain families without noting the slightest altercation. The transports of rage to which

593 I have occasionally referred and the excesses committed during drunkenness, though characteristic of these people, do not seriously alter the general picture. 592 Among the inhabitants of a house, who are always of the same family, the authority of the father or of the grandfather is supreme, being recognized in an argument, without dispute. The mother or grandmother shares in this authority, especially in the treatment of the daughters. The old man is the owner of the house, though others may have contributed to its construction. If he wishes to move to another locality, all accompany him, even if they are dead set against it.

592 602 The inhabitants of neighboring houses are generally in some way related, perhaps representing today the ancient communal dwelling. They share their necessities and likewise distribute any surplus among themselves, always in the most intimate sociability. The diagram (fig. 12) shows the composition of one of these local groupings of related families, comprising three houses with thirty-two inhabitants. Note that A marries the sister of B, and B marries the sister of A. C marries successively two sisters of A; his two sons-in-law live with him; and F, another brother-in-law, lives with A. The group is therefore composed of sons, sons-in-law, grandsons, and great-grandsons of X, deceased.

[614]
[616]

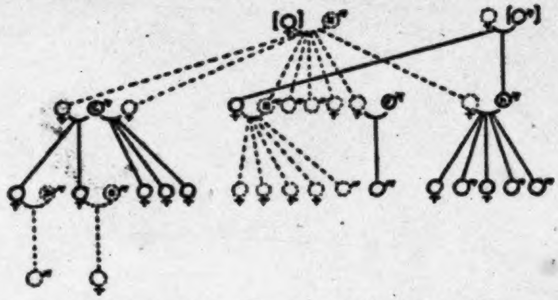

Fig. 12. Clan relationships. Dotted circle, Clan čiva' = seringarana = a'i = onça. Solid line circle, Clan ãu/nç' = mutum *fava*.

*Widows and orphans.*—In these groups, widows and orphans always find the 736 589 necessary shelter. A certain widow living with her daughters of thirteen and fifteen years old apparently has her economic life perfectly balanced. The three females plant in the clearing which they themselves are able to clear of undergrowth with a machete; they make farinha; they fish; and they make tucum fiber hammocks for sale. A married son, who lives close by, helps them whenever necessary. Small orphans are adopted by an uncle or aunt, who bring them up with [587] their own children. Formerly, also, the levirate often relieved the situation of a widow and her children. A widower alone with his small children is in a less favorable economic situation; his place is always in a run-down condition, and the children, during the necessary absences of their father, naturally try to make up to the neighboring relatives. Sooner or later, the widower either remarries or, following the example of his sons, moves in with the family of a relative. This is an outstanding demonstration of the economic importance of the Tukuna woman.

### DEATH AND BURIAL

When a person is dying, all the kin within reach gather round him; otherwise the 763
agony would be much prolonged. Hippolyto's wife fought death for two hours
until the arrival of Nino, her husband's paternal uncle, who sent for her husband.
Already unconscious, she expired as soon as Hippolyto arrived at her side. Paternal 764
male relatives, primarily brothers and uncles, dig the grave, but other kin also
help. They clip the hair, if it has grown excessively during illness, placing the
surplus hair next to the body. Nino told me that, on the occasion of his father's
death, his mother had the shaman Romão called in, who took down the invisible
hammock of the deceased's soul (načii'), rolled it up, and placed it beside the
body. At the dead person's side of the house are placed a bit of food and a little
drink that he liked when he was alive. All the Tukuna whom I consulted agreed
that in ancient times the body was buried, with knees flexed, in an urn; it was
decorated with armbands, tooth necklaces, and glass beads. The deceased never
had his weapons with him in the grave, lest his načii' use them against living
persons. A pot was placed upside down over the mouth of the urn. Thus it was
carried to the cemetery (ta'uke) and buried, not very deeply. Over the grave,
which was sometimes marked with a stake of muirapiranga wood, the food was
placed which previously had been put at the side of the corpse when it was in the
house, or a little maize, water, and fire; otherwise, the načii' would come at night
and disturb the provisions kept in the house. Highly regarded persons, especially
children, were buried inside the house, which was not burned down.

There are no reports of secondary burial. Weeping of relatives for the deceased 765
was, and is, moderate, and there are no attempts at suicide, mutilations, or in-
juries motivated by mourning. Upon returning from the burial, all bathe, rubbing
themselves with calabash tree (*Crescentia cuyetè*) leaves to free themselves of the [783]
smell of the corpse. The house is swept, but not the path to the cemetery. On that,
however, they scatter the leaves of a plant called dẹatẹ, which serve as flails,
arraias (lit., rays, skates) for the načii', impeding their return.

On the left bank of the Igarapé da Rita, a little above Hippolyto's place, an 764
ancient cemetery was discovered, containing many burial pots with bones and
beads, covered with flat receptacles. Bates also refers to Tukuna urn burial: "The 114
dead bodies of their chiefs are interred, the knees doubled up, in large jars under [172]
the floor of their huts." Tessmann describes a form of burial so different that his
informant must have referred to funeral customs of some other tribe with which
he was acquainted:

> Alle Leute, Häuptlinge, gewöhnliche Leute und Kinder werden gleichartig bestattet und zwar in einem Kanu das mit Holzplatten zugedeckt wird. Dieser Sarg wird nicht in den Häusern begraben sondern ausserhalb, in der Pflanzung. . . . Bei Zauberern wird die Leiche nicht wieder ausgegraben, wohl aber bei Lichtmenschen. Es geschieht nach etwa vier Monaten. Die Schädel und alle Knochen werden herausgenommen, sauber gereinigt, in Körbe getan und an einer besonderen Stelle, die Tauke genannt wird, von neuem bestattet. Es soll ein kleiner Hügel über dieser Stelle aufgehäuft werden.

Canoe burial was practiced by the Omágua, of whom Heriarte wrote in 1662: "When they die they are buried, taken to the river with great ceremony and with

764 all that they possess of their property. And he who died is placed in a small canoe,
[114] which they say he uses for travelling in another world."

The last instances of urn burial probably took place at the end of the last century, since Nino's deceased mother told him that she had attended one. In their heyday, the rubber-collecting patrões obliged the Tukuna to bury their dead in
[177] Christian cemeteries and according to Christian custom, so that even today most of the Indians are thus buried. These graves are no different from those of the Neobrazilians. Those found a short distance behind the houses of isolated Indians never have a cross; in its place a post is sometimes put up.

Since ancient times, the Tukuna have been accustomed to visit the graves at
769 intervals, taking leaf packages containing food and gourds with beverages. On these occasions they drink manioc beer at the grave, first taking care, however, to permit the načii' to drink first, lest, in the form of a weasel (ira'ra), it destroy the crops. Under Christian influence this ceremony later was set for All Souls' Day [*Dia de Finados*], the second of November. Lately, seeing that the Christians were removing and enjoying the Indians' offerings to the dead, the Tukuna have abandoned this practice of leaving food at the graves.

# IV. MAGIC AND RELIGION

## THE SHAMAN

ACCORDING TO Bates, each Tukuna band "obeys [?] a chief of more or less influence, 756
according to his energy and ambition, and possesses its pagé or 'medicine-man'
who fans their superstitions."[1] The impression I had was that magical knowledge [622]
constituted a prerequisite for the office of chief, but very few of those who have [114]
this knowledge show at the same time the necessary qualifications for the post.
Today not one chief remains, but there are still shamans of greater or less efficiency
and prestige; and since this job represents no public function but rather a personal
and private one, there are bands with more than one shaman. The Tukuna term
for shamans is dyʊ'vɨta. The origin of their art is given as follows.

When auĕ'mana was two years old, she used to cry a great deal during the night. Her mother 756
became angered by this and expelled her from the house, closing the door. auĕ'mana wept alone
in the yard the whole night until a *cunaüarú* toad[2] came and carried her off. She remained in his 773
company until she became a young girl, learning from him all the magical arts, from killing to 539
curing by suction. Later she returned to live among men in order to practice magic. Many learned
the art she taught; theretofore magic was unknown.

auĕ'mana grew very old and, when her physical strength deserted her, she asked some girls to prepare her food; but these refused because they did not like her. Then during the night, while they were sleeping, auĕ'mana extracted their leg bones from their bodies. The next morning they saw her seated beside her fire eating the marrow of the bones, since this was her only food. However, the girls could no longer get up.

When this became widely known, the people slew auĕ'mana, cutting her neck with a stone knife.
She caught the blood that ran down, in her cupped hand, blew it toward the sun, and said:
"ʊ:u ta'ta pö gɨ na ñe'i pö ñʊ a'ĕĕ!" ["The soul enter into thee, also!"] Since then, the soul of a [775]
victim enters the body of the killer. [682]

This legend shows that between the sorcerer who inflicts disease and the curing 756
shaman who removes disease, there is not that essential difference to which Tess- [114]
mann refers.[3] According to him, the Tukuna name for the curer[4] is "dyo'wue"[5] and
for the sorcerer "nokewue,"[3] a name which I have never heard and cannot explain.
Once in a great while I have heard the sorcerer called dyʊvɨkɨ, but kɨ means only
"person," and in general the term dyʊ'vɨta is employed for both kinds of shaman.
The shaman may kill one person and cure another. The fact that he possesses, [754]
among other magical attributes, the power of *espinhos*, "thorns," does not mean
that these are all he uses; on the other hand, if he does not possess this power, he
may acquire it at any time. One may constantly observe that among the Tukuna
no shaman is ever free from suspicion.

*Source of power.*—Magical powers of the shamans stem from their relations with 824 756
tree spirits (naiᵉ arɨ ma:'ñ). These trees have nothing to do with those whose souls 776
(naa'ĕ), as we have seen (p. 57), roam the night in the form of a spotted jaguar, [825]
puma, dog, or agouti. Luckily, not all trees have spirits; otherwise, clearings could
not be made, since the planter must spare spirits' trees on pain of being shot by

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[1] Bates, p. 401.
[2] *Hyla venulosa*; T., ĕ'pivĕ.
[3] Tessmann, pp. 562, 563.
[4] The word used is *curados*, but the sense indicated is *curandeiro*, "curer."—Trans.
[5] T., dyʊ'vɨta; see above.—Trans.

756 the spirits' arrows. Also, the spirits of dead trees may be present anywhere in the
776 neighborhood and wound those with whom they collide. A person with an overheated
824 body feels the arrow wound from a spirit as a fillip with the fingertips. This is the supposed cause of some deaths, due ultimately to the malefactions of
[763] some shaman. The most dangerous tree of all is the *caapi cipó* (*Banisteria* sp.), which the Tukuna know only by its Peruvian name of *ayahuasca*, sometimes corrupted into čučuva'ču. It is strange that they are unaware of the plant's qualities; because of this ignorance they do not prepare from it any narcotic, as do the neighboring Indians. Thus, they know that the Kokáma possess a plant which produces
[276] visions; but only one Tukuna, now deceased, learned from them its use as a narcotic, and he did not pass the knowledge along to anyone else.

According to my informants, the chief Domingos čʊ'nekį, a curing shaman (p.
[187] 65) had a different method of stimulating visions. There is a cultivated tree with small, white, calycine flowers which, when broken open, exhibit a liquid. Placing drops of this in his eyes, čʊ'nekį succeeded in seeing the demon dyĕ'vaĕ (see p. 120), as well as other demons (ṅɔɔ'), and the tree spirits; he could also discover his enemies. Other trees possessing spirits are the kapok, *sumahuma*, whose spirit is identified with the forest demon Caapora of the lingua geral, the *manixy* (?), the *açacú* (*Hura crepitans*), the muirapiranga, the *ucuhuba* (*Virola* sp.), and a tree which reaches at the most a diameter of fifteen centimeters and is called in Tukuna na'iⁿ-ya-dyʊ'į, that is, "shaman log." Its wood has an odor similar to that of laurel, and the soil around its trunk is always barren.

*Instruction of a shaman.*—Any person who wishes to become a shaman must be
756 placed in contact with the spirits of the trees by another person already initiated. Some shamans begin to educate their sons when the boys are six years old. Usually, however, the aspirant betakes himself to a master of recognized fame, whom he pays for instruction. This teacher begins only after sunset. Within only two months' time the disciple (nyĕna'rįkatį) possesses the most necessary knowledge for curing through suction and by the application of herbs or other medicinal substances.

During this period of instruction he must abstain from sexual intercourse and
756 must follow a diet, eating only certain fishes (cachorra, trahira, sardinha, curimatá,
262 caraüacú vermelho, and jejú, but no scaleless fish) and green bananas, taking care that these last are straight and not curved as they usually are. Among birds especially recommended to him are macucáua (*Tinamus* sp.) and *tangurupará* (*Monassa* sp.). All of his food must contain very little salt; he should completely abstain from pepper, fats, sweets, and alcoholic beverages and should also avoid exposure to the sun.

Initiation is in two parts: in the first, the master presents to the disciple a portion
756 of the magical substances in his body; in the second, he places him in contact with the spirits of the trees. The disciple is specially prepared for the initiation; he must drink a gourdful of tobacco infusion so as to vomit all impurities (puya) acquired
[276] through sexual contact; after which he must wash out his mouth. The infusion leaves him in a state of narcosis. The master, by massaging his own body, directs toward his mouth all the magical substances which he possesses, vomiting them in the form of slime (ta:'kaka; l.g., *tacacá*, a beverage of manioc starch). Holding the slime in the palm of his hand, he shows this to the disciple, inviting him to

825 catch it by means of a leaf and transfer the slime directly to the skin of the arm,
757 in order to produce vomiting, for example, after a drinking bout.

*Other witchcraft.*—Thorns, however, are not the only means by which the sor-
754 cerers destroy the objects of their malevolence. Some harbor a venomous snake in
their body and send it against the enemy. Others sing to the spirit of the "shaman
log" rotting on the riverbank, transforming it into a snake that will bite the enemy
as he passes. Not all snake bites are caused by witchcraft, however; there are snakes
that, without having any connection at all with shamans, bite anyone who passes.
Again, sorcerers send the ghosts of ferocious animals against the persons whom
they wish to eliminate, causing the victims to provoke bloody quarrels in which
they are killed. Others, by a method I failed to learn, cause madness in their vic-
tims, who commit suicide. The suicides described earlier, and one not mentioned,
[762] were all attributed to the malefactions of the celebrated warlock, ʊ'iṛʊ, whose
death I shall relate farther on.

An interesting observation concerning this madness caused by witchcraft was made to me by Calixto daueru'kị, himself a shaman of no mean reputation: "The sorcerer can injure only fools, against the wise he can do nothing." For this reason the Tukuna believe that their warlocks are powerless against civilized persons. Quirino, who died in 1932, swore that, among the Tukuna of Peruaté, Peru, he had been an eyewitness to an act of sorcery, which he described as follows. One day, while yet a boy, he followed an old man going into the jungle. There Quirino watched him weave the figure of a jaguar from uarumã, on which he placed a strip of tururí stretching from the tip of the muzzle to the tip of the tail. He had received this tururí, as well as the uarumã, from the underworld, na:'pị (the habitation of the demons). He stretched the tururí until it covered the figure entirely, afterward painting it with black spots like those of a jaguar. Then he turned to the boy and said, "Do not be alarmed!" and tossed the figure on top of an anthill (*cupim*). Immediately it was transformed into a live jaguar, which ran off howling into the jungle. This jaguar killed people and brought their bodies to the old man, who ate them.

Quirino told his father what he had seen, and the news spread, coming to the attention of the civilized Peruvians, who ordered the old man arrested and burned. This story is interesting because it proves that warlocks maintain relations also with the demons of the underworld.

*Identification of a murdering sorcerer.*—When a person is considered to have
754 died as a result of witchcraft, his relatives do not always take the trouble to have
682 the murdering sorcerer discovered. Sometimes, however, they call in a competent
[787] shaman, who smokes beside the corpse, goes to sleep, and sees in a dream the soul
of the slayer coming to eat his victim. Formerly there were shamans who, after
obliging everyone else to leave the house, sang in sight of the cadaver, smoked, and
opened the earth invisibly by means of magic gestures with their hands. Through
this aperture they invoked the warlock's soul, and as soon as it appeared they
struck it down. The wounded soul immediately returned to the body of the sorcerer,
who died within the hour.

Nino ęvẽnịᵉkị told me the following about the death of Marcellino, the famous
754 sorcerer and chief of the čara' clan, at which he was present in 1938. The soul

choose [the powers he desires]: "Do you want these two? They are good ones. Or 756
those two? They are bad ones. Or these others?" The disciple swallows the ones
chosen.

On the following day the master teaches his pupil the songs of the tree spirits, 756
and at night asks one of them to visit the pupil. It comes to him in a dream in 787
human form, about the size of a four-year-old child, and hands the dreamer a small
gourd with a tobacco infusion, which he drinks. Then the spirit asks him what he
wishes, and the disciple indicates his desire to have the spirit as an assistant. Then
the spirit sings his song (na'ãẽ), which the novice learns and sings after the visitor's
departure.

When this initiation is completed, the master does not fail to advise the learner 756
in forceful and energetic terms never to abuse his acquired powers but to employ
them exclusively against "our enemies," that is, against evil sorcerers, so that he [754]
will not, beneath the cudgels of avengers, die before his time.

*Witchcraft through "thorns"*.[7]—However, for a shaman the temptation to em- 754
ploy his acquired powers against any object of private disaffection is great and,
if the new shaman has not already received any magical substances (ta:'kaka) of
evil effect, he asks one of the spirit trees that possess thorns, especially the pupunha
palm and the açacú, for them. At the foot of one of these trees he clears a spot,
and on it he places a small gourd with a cigarette rolled in the inner bark of tauarí
lying across the top. The following morning he finds in the pot the ta:'kaka, which
contains (in an altered state) the thorns requested; this he swallows. The thorns,
the sorcerer's "arrows," are placed on his right forearm; the "bow" is his left
forearm.

Even so, the sorcerer does not shoot his projectiles with the motion of an arrow
release. Going alone into the jungle after sunset, he concentrates the magic sub-
stances on his right thumb, and, giving a flick with the thumbnail placed beneath
the nail of the third finger, he speeds the thorns on their way toward the victim.
Some shamans, as far as can be ascertained, vomit the ta:'kaka, afterward throwing
it with the hand. The thorns, always male and female, penetrate the body of the
bewitched invisibly, and usually insensibly; there they meet and reproduce in
great numbers, spreading throughout the entire body via the bloodstream, cor-
rupting it and causing death, unless a competent person intervenes in time.

The sick person has recourse to a shaman, whose first care is to see in a dream 755
the perpetrator of evil. Afterward, by feeling the patient he locates the thorns and [787]
extracts them by sucking. A treatment with vegetable medicines completes the
cure (see p. 23). The medicinal properties of many plants are general knowledge, [824]
and they may be used by anyone; it is only hoped that the shaman may have more
extensive knowledge of them.

Occasionally the Tukuna employ a curious medicine to provoke vomiting. In 825
the igapós of their territory, a tree frog (*Phyllomedusa* sp.; T., ba'kərə, in imita- 757
tion of the croak) is found fairly frequently, which has a vivid green back, a whitish
belly, and on its flanks a slime of soapy consistency that disintegrates in water.
The creature moves extremely slowly, hence it is easily captured. The Indians

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[6] Magical substances are always in pairs, male and female.

[7] *Espinhos*: lit., "thorns," "boils," "afflictions." After examination of the context, I believe that "thorns" is the best term.—Trans.

(naa'ẽ) of Marcellino had left his body in a dream and gone far up the Solimões 754 to kill people in Peru. There it was wounded by a shaman's knife, and when it returned, Marcellino died of this wound, blood welling up from his mouth. He vomited two potfuls of ta:'kaka, after which he bade farewell to all: "The soul of my deceased mother has just arrived; now I shall go with her!" he said, and died.

Calixto daueru'kį told me that the magic songs leave the shaman's body in the form of wasps, lizards, and other small creatures, coming forth from the mouth and disappearing immediately. Nino, in spite of the experience related above, was of the opinion that the magic substances "died of hunger" within the body of the shaman.

*The shaman's trance.*—Every shaman has certain specific methods of curing, 755 according to his own personal experience. Nino told me how the old shaman Romão proceeded when he undertook cures, at which the informant had been present many times. First, the doctor placed a wad of cut tobacco in each cheek, sat down next to the sufferer—later ordering a cleared place prepared behind him—and began his invocations. After some time, he coughed, fell backward and, shaking his knees, began to sing. It was a tree spirit that had entered his body, singing now through [754] his mouth and declaring that it had caused the disease by command of sorcerer So-and-so. The voice came from Romão's throat as if it came from one of those thick bamboo horns, kɔ'iʔri, used at the puberty ceremony by moiety B. It was said that he had a bumblebee in his throat which caused the sound. When Romão became senile, the insect abandoned him, and he never sang again. After the song, Romão got up to suck from the sufferer's body the pathogenic material. Songs and sucking were thus repeated several times. After the cure was completed, he spat out the tobacco into a special little pot, which he threw away afterward.

It appears to me that it was a cure of this type which Lewis Herndon surprised 755 and interrupted in 1851 at Tabatinga:
175

> After dark he [the missionary] proposed that we should go out and see some of the incantations [114] of the Indians for the cure of the sick. We heard music at a distance, and approached a large house whence it proceeded, in which the padre said there was almost always someone sick. We listened at the door, which was closed. There seemed to be a number of persons singing inside. I was almost enchanted myself. I never heard such tones, and think that even instrumental music could not be made to equal them. . . . I had heard nothing like this before. The tones were so low, so faint, so guttural, and at the same time so sweet and clear that I could scarcely believe they came from human throats; and they seemed fitting sounds in which to address spirits of another world. . . . The noise we made in opening the door caused a hasty retreat of some persons, which we could hear and partly see; and when we entered, we found but two Indians—an old man and a young one—sitting on the floor by a little heap of flaming copal, engaged in chewing tobacco and spitting it in an earthen pot before them. The young man turned his face to the wall with a sullen look, and although the old man smiled when he was patted on the head and desired to proceed with his music, yet it was with a smile that had no mirth of satisfaction in it and showed plainly that he was annoyed, and would have expressed his annoyance had he dared.[9]

*Shamans' pipes.*—Formerly, the shamans also smoked pipes instead of tauarí 756 cigarettes. These pipes, čimįta'pa (čimį, centipede), made of black marajá palm 276 wood, were from 15 to 20 cm. long and cone-shaped. The bowl in which the tobacco was placed was between 3 and 4 cm. in diameter. The pipe was smoked through a

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[9] Herndon and Gibbon, 1:236.

756 lateral hole, a little below the tip. It was so described to me by Nino, who had seen
276 one used by old Romão. I myself never got to see one.

*Soul loss.*—We have already seen (p. 101) how the spirits of the trees may cause
774 disease, not only at the request of a sorcerer but also spontaneously. In addition,
776 there are still two categories of disease: those caused by soul loss and those caused
753 by epidemics of post-Columbian origin. The tree spirits kidnap the souls of the
living, but apparently only those of children, as do the aquatic demon dyẽ'vaĕ and
the ghosts of the defunct (načii'). For this purpose they whistle and call a child
by name when the soul accompanies it by night through the jungle.

Nino told me how the soul of his daughter, ṅʊa'čina, had been stolen when the
774 child was being given a bath in the igarapé. As a result, she became pallid and
755 weak and, had not the shaman Thomaz intervened, she would have died. At nightfall
he sang, as the child lay in her mother's arms; he blew smoke over her from
heel to head and in the opposite direction, then placed the extinct cigarette butt
below the nape of her neck and went to sleep. At midnight he awoke and inquired
about the child's condition. She was already nursing again, and her eyes were
normal. He then ordered the parents to suspend the cigarette butt from her neck
until it should fall of its own accord.

When a child under two years of age cries alone, the shades of the dead arrive
775 and carry off its soul. A shaman may force its return to the body again by the
process described above, but the danger is that the soul may have already tasted
the food of the shades. In this event, the child begins to eat earth, coal, and so
forth, and always dies sooner or later.

*Cure of epidemics.*—Epidemics come from the sun, where their presence is indi-
753 cated by a greenish aureole. Without the sun's desire they are carried off by the
731 wind, which spreads them among men. On the occasion of a serious epidemic of
821 catarrh, a certain shaman called the people together, collected the invisible pathogenic
[755] substance from each, placed it in an urn, and rendered it harmless by
smoking.

*Dreams.*—During a dream, the soul (naa'ẽ) abandons the body and has its own
787 adventures, which are real and may be of great consequence. Through dreams the
774 shaman acquires his spirit assistant, gets in touch with the tree spirit, or identifies
the sorcerer responsible for a patient's illness or death. We have seen how an injury
828 to the soul of a warlock in a dream excursion caused the warlock's death. Some
adventures of the soul in dreams are warnings of things to come in the near future.
If a bank subsides or a tree falls on a person in a dream, it is because others plot
against him. If he sees himself painted with genipapo, this means blood and that
he will be murdered. An encounter with a jaguar in a dream indicates the arrival
of a companion or of a member of the čiva' (jaguar) clan, whereas the visit of an
Auahy clan member is announced by a dream of a snake. If the snake turns aggressive,
however, disease is on the way.

*Female witchcraft.*—Contrary to what Tessmann was told, there are no female
754 magicians in contact with tree spirits or capable of causing death or of removing
the spells put on others. What can happen is this: a woman, in order to injure the
object of her hatred, plucks a few of her victim's hairs, which she places in an
ant nest. Or she ties them to some branches on the riverbank where their seesaw

motion in the current will cause madness in her enemy. If the matter is referred to a shaman, he will discover, through a dream, where the hairs are and remove them. However, this practice appears to me to have been borrowed from another people, perhaps from the Neobrazilians themselves, since the Tukuna generally do not recognize clippings of hair and similar objects as of any value for magical practices, whereas this is a common Neobrazilian belief. 754

### EXECUTION OF A SORCERER

However, nothing proved more instructive to me as to Tukuna magical beliefs than the elimination of a famous sorcerer, during my stay in 1942, by persons with whom I was intimately associated, and who accordingly recounted to me all the details without the slightest hesitation. 754 682

On the occasion of my first visit to the Tukuna in 1929 I had heard reports that a few years before, two Tukuna of Igarapé de Belém had killed a man, after desperate resistance, whom they had accused of instigating the death of various children. They chopped the body to bits with machetes, throwing the pieces into the igarapé. One of the killers was arrested by the owner of a bazaar in Belém and was condemned to forced labor and deported for this purpose to another industrial establishment of the same owner at a great distance from Belém. One day the owner observed that the Indian wept secretly. Asking the reason, he learned that the prisoner was weeping because for a long time he had received no news from his family, who in his absence must surely be suffering many privations. The owner was thunderstruck that a brute who had hacked one of his own kind to bits should also have such worthy sentiments. He did not understand that it was real love for his children that had led the Indian to eliminate the peril which threatened their lives, nor did he realize that this ferocious murderer was actually regarded as a benefactor by his tribesmen, since his deed had freed them from the constant threat which the existence of the sorcerer constituted for all.

*The story of a sorcerer.*—Some ten years later, an Indian of the ë clan (genipapo clan) gradually became the terror of the Tukuna. They gave him the nickname ʊ'irʊ (*ouro*, gold). Owing to his complicated life, he used several Christian names, the commonest one being Izidoro. One day this Indian killed his father-in-law and two brothers-in-law, with a cudgel, suspecting that they had caused the death of his mother through witchcraft. He was imprisoned in São Paulo do Olivença for a long time,[*] but succeeded in escaping twice. Finally he managed to escape to Peru. He later returned from there, bringing with him a great reputation as a sorcerer.

He tried to establish himself in various places successively, but in no place could he remain, because of the immediate suspicion he aroused. Also, he behaved so imprudently that any person acquainted with the Tukuna could have predicted an early and disastrous end for him. Especially when befuddled with drink, he bragged, before everyone, of the knowledge of witchcraft he had acquired in Peru, and of his victims. The refusal of a cigarette was enough to make him threaten any person with death by sorcery. He even publicly claimed the credit for three suicides that had occurred a short time before in the vicinity of Belém when he lived in the igarapé of that name.

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[*] There is no death penalty in Brazil.—Trans.

754 Threatened with death, he fled to the Rio Jacurapá, a tributary on the left bank
of the Içá. At the Igarapé da Rita, when I arrived there in May, 1942, they had
682 accused him of having caused the death of the wife of an Indian named Hippolyto
čẽ'rẽkɨ, nephew of Nino ęvẽnɨ"kɨ; the death of another Indian's wife; the grave
illness of the wife of Sebastião, Nino's brother; and finally, the illness of Hippolyto
himself.

I encountered Hippolyto in a condition already quite serious, treated him with
123 medicines and an adequate diet during my entire first stay in the igarapé, visited
754 him daily, and finally effected a cure. A day later, however, he again awoke sud-
682 denly in a desperate state. As soon as he recovered his speech he told us that during
the night he had seen the soul of the warlock ʊ'irʊ climbing up the door of the
house, armed with a club with which to kill him. In fact, ʊ'irʊ struck him many
blows on the head, knocking him off the platform on which he slept. While Hip-
polyto still lay struggling on the floor, his little boys ran to call relatives who lived
close by, Sebastião and Nino. These immediately ran to Hippolyto's aid and found
him stretched out senseless on the floor. However, he recovered rapidly, especially
[755] after the intervention of the shaman Benedicto, to whom I myself paid a knife, a
handful of cheap glass beads, and a piece of tobacco to make him treat the case,
seeing that what Hippolyto needed most was spiritual medicine in accordance
with his mentality. That is how I left him when I moved from Igarapé da Rita to
Igarapé de São Jeronymo on the twenty-second of May. On the fifth of June,
Christovão e'kɨrakɨ, another brother of Nino and uncle of Hippolyto, while fishing
in the Rio Solimões suddenly espied ʊ'irʊ and his family descending the river
below toward the Jacurapá, and advised his kinfolk immediately. Hippolyto then
decided that the hour of vengeance was at hand, in which decision he was supported
by his uncles Nino and Christovão. With all speed the three pursued ʊ'irʊ in two
canoes. They caught up with him in the middle of the Solimões, overpowered him,
bound him hand and foot, and threw him into the river. They struck the oldest
child, some three or four years old, with their paddles, also throwing it into the
water. The youngest child was torn from its mother's arms and was also drowned.
They struck the woman several times and tossed her into the river, too, but Chris-
tovão pulled her into his canoe and thus saved her life. The kinsmen of Hippolyto
had deliberately carried out the slaughter of the sorcerer without spilling blood,
[783] for the spilling of blood would have greatly complicated the subsequent purifica-
tion rite.

The three slayers returned immediately to their houses, which were situated a short distance from one another on the Igarapé da Rita. Shortly before arriving at Christovão's home they landed the woman at the door of Custodio, a friendly, hard-working old Indian with a large family, who was the father-in-law of Christovão and Nino. This woman succeeded in so frightening old Custodio, lest Hippolyto and his uncles attack and destroy him and his household, that from one hour to the next he decided to flee with his entire family, very much against the wishes of his adult son, who had a good plantation at his place and all the necessary material ready for a new house. But they did leave, taking with them ʊ'irʊ's widow, and sought refuge among a group of Tukuna inhabiting a tributary on the left bank of the lower Rio Jandiatuba.

Nino and Christovão did not stop at home but, without eating or speaking to 754 anyone, immediately left together on a hurried trip to Igarapé de Belém in search 682 of a certain shaman for the purification the situation demanded. Hippolyto, however, 783 weak from his long illness, arrived home so exhausted that he was again prostrated for days, incapable of following his uncles. The latter, after battling the strong currents of the Solimões all day, entered the Igarapé de Belém on the seventh. They should not have eaten anything before submitting to the purification rite, but their strength began to fail them, so they comforted themselves with a little farinha d'agua they had, eating it with spoons fashioned from leaves in order to prevent the soul (naa'ẽ) of the murdered man from entering their bodies with [775] the food. If they had shed blood, they would also have used a stick to scratch with, instead of their fingernails, since, if blood is shed, the slayer's body becomes full of invisible blood. They did not converse during the trip, but spoke occasionally [824] to a tree or to an ant nest as if these were people, saluting and taking leave of them and leaving them a bit of food, as if they were members of the family. Had they not followed such procedure, the soul of the slain would have entered the body of [775] someone in the slayer's family.

Finally, they approached the residence of the shaman Geraldo, of the ñɔį' clan (red macaw clan), whom Nino as a member of the same moiety addressed as ma'ĭᵘ'ẽ, "brother" (p. 59). Showing themselves to him from afar and signaling, they made Geraldo realize that something extraordinary had happened, so he immediately went to meet them and asked what had occurred. They answered in a few words in a low voice, and he ordered them to draw the canoe ashore a bit farther ahead. Geraldo, returning to his house, bade his daughters scrape genipapo and prepare food, saying to them: "They did a turn for all of us; they killed our enemy!"

Then he joined the two men, ordered them to squat before him, and, passing his hands over them from the heels to the crown of the head, removed from them the soul of the slain, joined it together in front of them, and hurled it away, saying: "Go away! We have done this to you because you were the enemy of everyone!" Then he gave each man three peppers to eat and finally painted them with genipapo, which he had already brought on top of some leaves. He led them to the house, gave them food, and bade them farewell. Spurred by anxiety for their families, who had been left hiding in their plantations, the two again left for the Igarapé da Rita, where they arrived the morning of June 9.

As stated above, Hippolyto could not accompany the others on the trip they made in order to purify themselves, and he treated himself as best he could. Under these circumstances, the slayer, feeling the dead man's soul squeezing his heart, must [824] for two months drink a brew made from pupunheira root (*Gulielma* sp.).

Meanwhile I was attending a puberty ceremony celebrated in a house half a 754 league up the mouth of the Igarapé da Rita, on the Solimões, where some other 682 guests informed me of the event. After the feast I went down to the settlement of Santa Rita, where the Neobrazilians told me with evident satisfaction that "the Indians of the igarapé had all fled." I at once entered this tributary, where I found all the Indians except the family of old Custodio, who had actually fled but later on returned at my invitation. From place to place the Indians accompanied me, increasing in number at each stop, until we were all gathered at Nino's house,

754 including the slayers, who had arrived that morning, horribly painted with black from head to foot. The atmosphere was rather anxious, and their satisfaction at
682 seeing me so unexpectedly was obvious, especially on Nino's part; if I had not come, they would have searched for me the following day at Igarapé de São Jeronymo, where I made my headquarters. Calmly and clearly Nino told me what had happened: "We had to do it. But now that it is done I don't want to fool with anyone else, just live in peace," he said. But naturally the case was not closed.

The civilized authorities, though aware of what had happened, made no move, but a brother of the dead man, informed by another relative, came from the outskirts of Belém with his three grown sons in pursuit of the slayers. Strangely enough, the party first came ashore at the place of another brother of Nino and Christovão who lived by himself on the banks of the Solimões, and he immediately sent to warn his kinsman. It is clear that if the sorcerer's brother had come to avenge ʊ'irʊ's death immediately, he would not have pulled ashore at the house of the murderers' brother.

However, Nino, Christovão, and Hippolyto passed the night together with loaded shotguns and machetes at hand. The night was absolutely dark. About nine o'clock, when I rashly went down to the landing, accompanied by Nino's three sons, we saw slowly approaching from the river a small light, resembling the lighted cigarette of a person silently rowing inshore; it finally stopped. Frightened, the children ran to the house while I went down to the landing, where I discovered that the light was due to a large firefly that had lit on one of the canoes inshore.

I turned back with the insect in my hand, when all the Indians in the house came from all sides to meet me, for they were terrified at my unheard-of audacity. The
[774] point was that the arrival of a sorcerer's soul is announced in the dark by a small
[293] firefly-like light that emanates from the tucum-nut ring the sorcerer, like most Tukuna, wears on his finger. My attitude in abstaining from all criticism or moral
[123] judgment and in accepting the tragedy as a consummated fact visibly cleared the atmosphere and calmed their spirits. When I returned to Igarapé de São Jeronymo on the following day, the situation was almost back to normal.

In fact, until my departure in September nothing untoward occurred. However, I believe that the brother of the murdered ʊ'irʊ will still try to avenge him at the first opportunity.

*Another method of purification.*—According to what he himself told me, Calixto
783 daueru'kɨ, to whom also killers repair for purification, has a method slightly dif-
775 ferent from that of his colleague Geraldo. First he washes the slayer's arms from top to bottom with envira de matamatá. Then he invokes the soul of the slain, by means of a song and tobacco smoke. The dead man's soul, surrounded by the smoke, which it involuntarily swallows, finally crouches down, weak and inoffensive, before the shaman, who covers it with still more smoke and, fanning the smoke, makes the soul disappear. Afterward he paints with genipapo dye only the forearms of the killer. Even with this, however, the dead man's soul is not completely annihilated. Thus, after the death of čʊ'na, a Peruvian sorcerer who had fled to Brazil, where he was killed by pursuers from his own country, his soul "shot" his brother-in-law with "arrows," a fact recognized by the shaman Airú of Ilha dos Guaribas, who succeeded in curing the sufferer.

## THE UPPER WORLD

Heaven, the upper world (na:'në), is not the abode of the sun, the moon, or the 772 stars, which are still far beyond it. It is divided into two or perhaps three sections. One is inhabited by men more or less like us, even though the conditions of life there are somewhat different from those on earth. The second is the dwelling place of ta-ë' and the souls of the dead (naa'ë), with certain exceptions. The third [775] may be the habitation of the king vultures, urubú rei (*Vultur papa*), if these are not perchance merely inhabitants of the first section who are able to transform themselves into birds. Like the souls of the dead, they never return to earth to tell the living about conditions above. It is manifestly impossible for a living person to enter heaven; not even a shaman can do so while dreaming. Hence, knowledge of things there is confined to the experiences of the few human beings who, carried up by celestial girls wishing to marry them, later returned. There is also the story of a sorrowing widower who was borne thither by his wife's soul but who never returned to earth.

*Legends of the upper world.*—The following legends of the upper world were 539 collected.

### The Widower

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The wife of an Indian had died. He wept bitterly and could not forget her. Once when he went alone into the jungle to procure his sustenance, he got tired and sat down to rest, remembering how she used to accompany him on the hunt and carry home the monkeys he killed. Then he said, weeping: "A woman like that one I shall never find again!" Thus he was once walking with bowed head, thinking of her. When he raised his eyes, he saw that she had come to meet him. She said she had come to fetch him since he wept so much for her. He was overjoyed to hear this. She bade him shut his eyes and, when she permitted him to open them again, they were already in heaven.

He espied from afar the house of ta-ë', which is all of glass. On the road leading to the house there sat a dove (auyakva') which, upon seeing a soul arrive, began to sing: "Tëë ahë yada'ë?" ["Whose son is this who comes this way?"] Then ta-ë' ordered all the souls to congregate so that relatives might recognize the newcomer. Everyone wept, and they carried him off with them.

Before one arrives at the point where the dove waits for souls there is a kind of gate (tɔ/ri'ta) formed of two horizontal poles, thick as a pestle, which move constantly one past the other in opposite directions, one to the left, the other to the right. The arriving soul addresses the tɔ/ri'ta: "ɔta' ñci čɔ!" ["Grandfather, open your mouth!"] If the soul has many sins, the gate vibrates with such speed that passage is impossible; otherwise it stops for an instant, thus permitting free entry. This gate is of *parapará* wood [*Cordia umbraculifera?*; ë'nį'], for which reason the Tukuna never use this wood for kindling.

As the man entered ta-ë''s house, he saw outside two animals, the čɔrë'ruma, tethered in a corral. ta-ë' made one of them come and lick the man from his heels to the top of his head in order to purify him of his sins. These animals have the body of a tapir and the head of a dolphin. ta-ë' looses them to tear apart the soul of a sinner who manages to slip through the gate. As soon as they sight a soul they throw themselves into the waters of the Rio čɔvatį, which flows through the upper world, swim to the opposite bank, dive in again with a tremendous roar, and return. One hears this roaring on earth; if at the same time a strong thunderclap is heard, then the čɔrë'ruma are tearing some soul to bits.

Now in the house of ta-ë' there is suspended a large hornets' nest, ma/či' [see p. 62], that was not formerly there. When the assembled souls weep upon receiving a recently arrived soul, ta-ë' shakes the nest so that the hornets within raise a buzzing which smothers the outcry, since if this were heard on earth it would cause sickness and wreak havoc there. These are the hornets that sting a person who, even involuntarily, glances at the private parts of a relative of the opposite sex.

## ɔ'rẽtana

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ɔ'rẽtana dwelt in heaven in the company of her parents and siblings. She said to her sisters: "I know of a handsome youth on earth. Let us bring him up to heaven for us!" "Then he shall be mine!" immediately cried the youngest, but ɔ'rẽtana replied: "We shall see which of us he will choose."

This youth was the only son of an old woman, and he was still very young (about eighteen years old). "Mother," he said to the old woman, "let us clean up our clearing!" "Yes," she replied, "let us do so!" While they were working in the clearing she asked: "What have we to eat?" The son, who heard the cries of pigeons in the distance, answered: "I'll go to kill those pigeons for us!"

He took his blowgun and quiver, following the direction of the cries, which suddenly stopped. Advancing cautiously and without a sound, for a few more paces, he saw ɔ'rẽtana and her sisters seated on a long bench in a jungle clearing. They called him to join them and asked him what he was looking for. Full of shame, he answered that he had followed the cries of the pigeons in order to shoot them for his mother. They played with him and painted him with urucú around the eyes and on the legs like a pigeon. They laid his blowgun across two branches, and it immediately turned into a snake, while the quiver became a hornets' nest.

Then they asked him which of them he desired, and he chose ɔ'rẽtana. She laid the lad's head in her lap, pressing her body against his so that he could no longer observe anything. Immediately the four seated persons rose to heaven, stopping in front of the house of the girls' father. ɔ'rẽtana still held his eyes shut so that the great brightness would not frighten him, and thus led him inside. When finally they permitted him to look around, and he saw the inhabitants of heaven, he thought to himself: "These people from above are really very handsome!" But they immediately divined what he was thinking and answered: "Have we not the faces of grasshoppers?" ɔ'rẽtana's father and siblings, however, were greatly pleased with the newcomer. On the following day ɔ'rẽtana showed him the upper world, but at first would not permit him to glance about, making him walk with bowed head, and only little by little did she allow him to raise his eyes.

Then he saw the Rio čɔ'vatį, large but placid, which flows through the upper world, and, beyond, the great multitude of souls who dwell there, separated from the sky people and having no relations with them at all. On the other side was the house of ta-ẽ', with many flowers in front. Before the house lay the tethered čɔrẽ'ruma, domestic animals of ta-ẽ', about the size of a mosquito bar [about 5 × 1 m., or 5 × 1.5 m.], which resemble no animals on earth. When ta-ẽ' releases them for a swim, they plunge into the waters of the river, which spring apart only to rush together again with a thud. When earth men hear this noise, sometimes it is a sign that the end of the world is imminent; sometimes it is just a mistake.

ɔ'rẽtana's father ordered his daughters to prepare manioc beer (caiçuma). In heaven, sweet manioc (macaxeira) grows like fruit on the branches of bushes. The youth, seeing the girls gathering only two of these fruits about a palm in length, thought that this would not suffice for anything, but ɔ'rẽtana, divining his thoughts, answered that he would soon see whether or not it was enough. They peeled and chopped the sweet manioc into pieces, forming two large heaps. Then they cooked them, but under the pot they placed only one coal. Also, they did not grind the fruit but chewed it. The beverage filled five jars, each the height of a man, and they had a grand spree, for the inhabitants of heaven are many.

Afterward ɔ'rẽtana told her husband that she heard the weeping of his mother on earth. The lad listened, but heard nothing. She washed his ears and cleaned them with cotton, then he heard the weeping. ɔ'rẽtana's father advised them to go visit the old woman and console her. The two sat inside a hod, she closed his eyes, and so they descended to earth and directly to the little rancho in the clearing, where his mother sat weeping. He went up to her, saying: "You needn't cry for me, mother! I am alive, and only just now have I had time to visit you!" ɔ'rẽtana also came and presented herself to the old woman. Then the youth went to fetch his blowgun and quiver, finding them still at the same place, and went hunting. He killed a tapir for his mother and left the prize at her door, telling the old woman that he had killed only a small agouti. When his mother found the tapir she was overjoyed.

The couple again returned to the upper world, and ɔ'rẽtana had a son. Then ɔ'rẽtana expressed the opinion that the old woman should also come to heaven. Accordingly, the three again descended to earth, where the old woman greeted her little grandson, and for her part showed a desire of moving to heaven. With the same precautions as had been taken for the youth, she was transported to heaven and introduced to the household. The father of ɔ'rütana ordered a gourd of water brought from ta-ə̃'s house, and after he had washed the old woman with it, she became a young girl again. They are still there today in heaven. 539 [772]

## aria'na

There was a little girl who had been an orphan since her infancy. The uncle and his wife with whom she lived did not like her. She walked alone along a jungle path and wept. ta-ə̃' came to her, but the little one did not recognize her. "Why do you cry?" asked ta-ə̃'. "Mother," answered the little girl, "my uncle does not like me and treats me very badly!" "Come to my arms!" said ta-ə̃'. She embraced the little one, and without the child's noticing anything they ascended to heaven. She washed the little girl, gave her the name of aria'na, and reared her.

aria'na became a very pretty young woman. Many men of the celestial people desired her, and she had love affairs with many of them; but because of this she also had many enemies, some of whom invited her one day for a stroll. They went with her to where the upper world ends, where they suddenly transformed themselves into toads (*kʊrö've*), hopped in all directions, and disappeared, leaving aria'na alone.

aria'na took the shape of a swallow and flew up to the Sun. Flying just above him, she plucked out a lock of red hair and one of blue hair. With these aria'na attempted to decorate her armbands, which would make her even prettier and irresistible. The Sun, however, exasperated at her audacity, fetched her such a kick that she went flying through heaven and earth, finally stopping in the underworld called ñöča'ku. When she returned from there, she brought maize for the inhabitants of the earth. [772]

## pɔva'ru

Some Indians went to a celebration in a house on dry land. Near the house they stopped to make still more fringes for their costumes. pɔva'ru was with them. The others prepared their outfits and went on, leaving pɔva'ru behind, alone. When he also was at last ready and went to follow his comrades, two japihins [*Cassicus* sp.] came flying behind him on the path, passing him by and playing in flight. Just ahead of him they came to rest on the path and took human form. They were aria'na and a companion.

The two girls went up to pɔva'ru and asked where he was going. When he answered that he was going to a feast, they persuaded him to stay with them instead of continuing. He agreed and deposited the costume fringes at the side of the trail. His companions later found them there upon returning from the celebration and, though there was not the slightest confirming trace, at length concluded that a jaguar must have carried off the youth.

aria'na made him shut his eyes, and when he opened them again they were already in the upper world, where aria'na married him. However, she did not permit him to eat celestial food, because if he ate it he could never again return to earth. She stole food from the earth to feed him, and people were amazed at the way their provisions disappeared. From time to time, pɔva'ru returned to earth, where he told people that he was married to aria'na in heaven, but no one believed him; they merely laughed, saying that he wished to impress the girls with these yarns. He always arranged with aria'na the time and place for them to meet again on earth, whereupon she would again carry him to heaven with her.

When pɔva'ru arrived in heaven the first time, ta-ə̃' strung the čɔrə̃'ruma on a cipó as if they were fish [thrusting the liana through the gill apertures so as to make it protrude from the mouth], so that they would not attack. Once, when pɔva'ru was alone, he watched one of these monsters for a long while; its body shuddered convulsively from time to time, and because he had watched this, pɔva'ru fell ill. aria'na carried him to earth so that he might be treated there by a shaman. When the shaman fell backward in a trance, the čɔrə̃'ruma sang from his mouth. Then everyone believed that pɔva'ru really had been in the upper world.

When he was again up and around, some white-lipped peccaries (*queixadas*), appeared one day near the house. pɔva'ru seized his blowgun and ran after them, but did not kill a single one. He accompanied them and remained living among them for a long time. Finally, the pigs again

539 appeared near the house, and the hunters who pursued them caught sight of pɔva'ru amongst them. They surrounded and captured him, much against his will, and carried him home. He said that, every day at sunset, the pigs formed a circle about their chief. The chief masticated a fruit called čɛ'vẽ, whereupon a round, well-constructed house appeared in which the pigs passed the night.

aria'na returned and again carried pɔva'ru off to heaven. He got accustomed to living there, but returned to earth as often as he wished, since aria'na had by now furnished him with feathers. However, in the upper world there are many girls, and pɔva'ru began to dally with them. This annoyed aria'na, who forced him to return to earth again. pɔva'ru, however, had by now obtained some of the celestial magical substances, and as a result the earth maidens also pursued him.

pɔva'ru had relations with many girls and poked fun at aria'na before them, saying: "This aria'na, when she doesn't wish coitus, she makes her genitals vanish!" When aria'na received word of this she became furious and, soiling his feathers with resin, made it impossible for him to fly, so that he could never again return to heaven.

[825] Somewhere in heaven live the king vultures. They are human in form, disguising themselves as birds only when they descend to earth.

## The King Vultures

A girl one night placed in the house yard a water-filled earthen vessel for her brother to bathe in the next day, but the following morning she found the container empty except for some small manioc flat cakes. The next night she again placed the vessel with water in the same place, and the following morning discovered a piece of smoked meat in place of the water.

So the following night she placed the vessel at the edge of the igarapé and waited to see what would happen. At dawn a king vulture alighted in the house yard, glanced about, and said loudly enough for the girl to hear: "Today I have no bath water!" But going down to the igarapé he found the earthen vessel there. He removed his feather dress, lay down backward a moment, and, now in human form, bathed himself. While he was pouring water over himself, the girl, who had come behind him, removed the feather dress, hiding it in the house. Finished with his bath, the king vulture looked about everywhere for his costume, finally fleeing without it to hide in the jungle.

His daughter, waiting in heaven for his return, finally went down after him. Soon the costume in the house began to speak, telling the girl that the king vulture's daughter had arrived. Upon hearing this, the girl arranged with her brother that he should steal the daughter's cloak also. The daughter descended the aerial path of her father, circled above the yard of the house, and finally landed. Seeking and finding her father's trail, she followed it to the igarapé, where, feeling the urge to bathe, she removed her feathers. But while she was pouring water over herself, the girl's brother stole her cloak. Searching for it, she thought: "This must have happened to my father, also!" Then she again followed her father's trail and found him hidden in the jungle. "So, here you are," she said, "and where is your feather dress?" "They stole it," replied the king vulture. "And where is yours?" "They stole mine, too." "Then we must remain seated in the jungle for five days until our new feathers grow!" declared the king vulture.

Slowly the feathers began to grow. Meanwhile, the brother and sister tried to put on the stolen feathers in order to fly. The vulture and his daughter managed to fly again and, circling above the two mortals, decided to carry them to the upper world with them. The stolen garments cried out: "We are here, father!"

Hearing this, the siblings thought to hide the feathers outside the house and ran with them into the plantation. The king vulture, in human form, ran after them and asked them what they were doing. They did not recognize him, replying that they were attempting to put on the feather costumes. Then the king vulture showed them how to do so, first pressing their limbs together so that they could get into the costume, and later releasing them. Then the siblings managed to put on the costumes, but, once dressed, they could not take them off again. Thereupon the king vulture and his daughter put on their costumes of new feathers also, and took the two with them to heaven, where the king vulture married the girl and his daughter married the boy.[30]

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[30] See also the legend, "čɔë' in the Underworld."

Such are the legends. The idea of heaven as an upper world similar to the earth 772
and with inhabitants like those of the world below is encountered in the legends
of the culture-hero brothers relating to the theft of fire (see p. 130) and the origin
of languages. These tell how in the old days there was free passage between the
two worlds, how this was interrupted, and how thereafter an attempt was made to
reëstablish it. All these motives are so common in American mythology that they [171]
do not merit further comment.

*ta-ẽ′ and the souls.*—Quite different, however, is the concept of the most important 776
personage of the upper world, ta-ẽ′. I do not know of any similar figure in
the religion of other tribes. Nothing is known of her origin. She is apparently as
ancient as the heaven in which she lives, and is immortal but definitely not omnipotent,
nor omniscient, nor infallible. Overburdened with tasks, she may involuntarily
cause damage to men through her mistakes. Nothing material in the world
was created by her, nor does she govern anything; therefore she is neither the
"Common Mother" nor the "Primary Mother" in Baldus' terminology.

Prayers are not directed to her, nor does she receive sacrifices. She has nothing [782]
to do directly with the culture-hero brothers, who equal her in importance, or
with the spirits of the trees or the demons (ñɔɔ′) of the lower world. No shaman
is in communication with her. Nevertheless, for the Tukuna she is a figure of great 776
importance and respect, because of her inseparable connection with the notion of 775
sin and subsequent punishment, in life or after death, since she is the mistress of [774]
that part of the human soul called "naa′ẽ." With the other part of the soul, called
"načii′" (shade of the deceased), she has nothing to do..

ta-ẽ′ does not represent a divine justice that tots up the sins and good deeds of
the soul. She takes into consideration only three categories of crime: incest, [683]
infanticide (including voluntary abortion), and murder through witchcraft. She
does not bother with such trifles as theft or a hot-blooded killing. Incest (vɔ:′mači)
is a transgression of the law of exogamy which she established when she taught
the first men to which clan each belonged, making them taste the jacuruxy broth
(see pp. 58 and 130); this was the only time, however, that she intervened in the
work of the culture heroes. Incest is the only crime for which ta-ẽ′ eventually [684]
punishes the sinner, by madness while he is still living.

I have already discussed the fate of an infanticide's soul (p. 69). When the [682]
soul of a sorcerer appears before ta-ẽ′, she treats it in the same fashion as she
does that of an infanticide; in fact, the three sins mentioned above are considered
almost equal. The gravity of a crime depends upon whether the sin was committed [674]
thoughtlessly and with some extenuating circumstances, and whether it is repeated.

If there are extenuating circumstances, the sinner is purified by one of the
čɔrẽ′ruma, which licks him from toe to crown. However, even if the naa′ẽ of a [783]
perverse and stubborn sinner slips past the tɔ/ri′ta gate, it is torn to shreds by
the čɔrẽ′ruma or rejected by ta-ẽ′, who orders lightning to cast it down on the
earth again, or even sends it below to the underworld (na:′pɨ), where it is transformed
into a tiny frog (nʊ:′gʊ), with whose death it vanishes.

It is noteworthy that the Tukuna regard as crimes these three sins which not 673
only harm the individual but are also ruinous for humanity as a whole: "Thou

673 art ruining the people!" says ta-ẽ' to the soul of an obstinate sinner. Furthermore, when I once spoke of the social consequences which incest brings to an incestuous son, a Tukuna cut short my words with: "It's not only that; he disgraces the people."

776 177 *The Christian ta-ẽ'.*—Up to this point the concept of ta-ẽ' and her activities, as well as the concepts of soul, sin, and punishment, do not appear to me to have been influenced by Christianity. It is easily understood however, that within this cycle of religious ideas concerning the souls of the dead and an upper world, there have been introduced Christian elements in the form of entire legends. This is due, not to contact with a Christian population, but to incomplete instruction received long ago through missionaries.[19] There is another ta-ẽ', a caricature of the Virgin Mary appearing in conjunction with "Our Father," ta-na'tį, who unites within himself elements of God the Father and especially of Jesus Christ. There are also the dyure'u [*judeu*, Jew], a combination of the Jews, the story of the Passion of Christ, and the devil. It is amazing how many episodes of the evangelists have contributed to this grotesque conglomeration represented in the following legend of ta-ẽ', ta-na'tį, and the dyure'u:

### ta-ẽ', ta-na'tį, and the dyure'u

539 776 177 ta-na'tį coveted ta-ẽ' while she was yet a girl, but she rejected him. Then he transformed himself into a flower by the wayside. ta-ẽ' plucked the flower, smelled it, and merely because of this became pregnant. She was quite astonished, because she had had sexual relations with no one; at last, however, she realized that ta-na'tį had impregnated her. When after five [*sic*] months she gave birth to a boy, ta-na'tį addressed her from afar: "Do you see? You did not wish me but you shall always have my son!"[20]

ta-na'tį was the wisest of all men. With his magic arts he used to kill the dyure'u (demons with tails like barrigudo monkeys), a more ancient race than men. They resolved to kill ta-na'tį. They tied him to a stake, put out his eyes, and left him exposed to the sun. "We want to see if he is really tupa'na!" [I.g., for "god," or "saint"] they said. tana'tį recovered from this. They crucified him with nails and pierced him with arrows, but he again recovered. Then they strangled him with a rope passed round both his neck and the stake to which he was bound, and this time he died.

They laid the body of ta-na'tį in a coffin, and afterward killed his chickens and sheep. But while they were seated at the table, the roast chicken suddenly sprang up and cried: "ta-na'tį ñüi°u°!" ["ta-na'tį is alive!], whereupon the pieces of the butchered sheep joined one another and bleated: "bẽ:! It's a lie!" When the dyure'u went to look, the coffin with ta-na'tį's body was already at a hand's height from the ground and was rising rapidly.

The dyure'u tried to pull it down by a rope passed round it, but the coffin rose without stopping, carrying the dyure'u hanging from the rope. Because of this they are also in heaven. Since then, nothing has been heard of ta-na'tį; today he still lives in heaven, but far away from all the others. The road to ta-ẽ''s house is partly overgrown by the jungle; the other path, however, which leads to the habitation of the dyure'u is a broad, fine road of sand. The dyure'u duck the arriving souls into a pot of boiling pitch, so that only their fingertips peep out. Afterward they remove them and weigh them, repeating this until the soul has become light enough to appear before ta-ẽ'. She, however, still scolds the soul before admitting it.

773 776 177 The Tukuna commonly give the title of ta-na'tį ("Our Father") to the twin culture heroes, a title justified by the fact that these are the creators of humanity, or at least the greater part of it, especially of the Tukuna. According to Tessmann, tana'te means "god": "Er hat die Welt gemacht, die Tiere und Berge, Sonne,

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[19] Spaniards? See use of the *garrote* in the following legend.

[20] I could learn nothing more of this son.

Mond und Sterne und auch die Menschen, letztere aus Erde." It is clear that this 773
description refers to the Christian God, not to a personage of the ancient religion. 776

Even today the Tukuna regard the Jewish peddlers, who sometimes appear in 177
their territory, as the direct descendants of the legendary dyurɛ'u, believing them to be tailed, or that at least one of them[13] is so adorned.

*The souls.*—The naa'ẽ or soul is, according to an expression of the shaman 774
Calixto daueru'kɨ, "what we think" (or thought).[14] This type of soul is given the fetus while it is still within the womb; if ta-ẽ' is careless, the child is born spiritually defective.

Dreams are the adventures of the soul, and in them the soul of a wicked sorcerer [781]
may commit his crimes in far-off places. The soul, not the body, is responsible for our acts. Its abandonment of the body causes death, after which the soul [761]
normally returns to heaven.

*The shades of the dead.*—Quite different from the role of the naa'ẽ is that of 775
man's second soul, the načii'. Nevertheless, I have repeatedly gained the impression that the Indians do not always distinguish the two clearly. The načii' is the shade of the dead. It "is of no importance," the Tukuna told me; it remains on earth near the place where the individual died. At abandoned house sites (taperas) the načii' congregate, preferably assuming the forms of nocturnal swallows, [825]
bacuráos (*Caprimulgus* sp.), but also sometimes those of toads or oth[illegible]reatures. Ribeiro de Sampaio probably referred to this belief when he [illegible] 'In their [114]
philosophy they profess the miserable dogma of metempsychosis, or the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls to another body, even to irrational [*sic*] ones.'"[15] Most of the time, however, a man's načii' appears in the exact form he had in life, only betraying its nature by certain whimsical habits. The načii' are moderately dangerous, owing to their mania for sucking blood, flesh, and bones of living people, so as to leave only the empty skin. In the Tukuna idiom this is called "to put the genipapo on someone," because of the black color of the marks left by sucking. A few legends will give a better idea of the načii''s habits.

### dʊẽ' and the načii'

An Indian named dʊẽ' went out to hunt deep in the jungle; he saw that he was near a house he 775
recognized, in which he thought to spend the night. Dusk was falling when he reached it and
found it deserted. The ground inside the house was already covered with mould. The inhabitants 539
had gone fishing on Lake Curanã [between the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and the Solimões], where the Omágua attacked them, killing everyone. dʊẽ' climbed up under the roof of the house to spend the night there, but just as it turned completely dark he heard on the path the cries of many swallows, which began to talk among themselves in the human language. They were the shades of the murdered people of the house, which had returned home. "Daughter," he heard a woman say, "go up to the loft and fetch a little maize so that we may prepare mingau!" Soon the girl, in the form of a swallow, came up by the motá [l.g. for notched-log ladder] to the platform where dʊẽ' lay prone. He seized her and commenced to tear out her feathers.

"Come quickly, my daughter!" said the mother. "I cannot," answered the girl swallow. "This man here is plucking out my feathers!" Then dʊẽ' threw her down from the platform to the floor, where she died; then he pulled the ladder up beside him. The shades gathered round the dead swallow. "We shall put the genipapo marks on this fellow!" they cried. They searched all around

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[13] The sense of the passage indicates that these Jewish peddlers travel in pairs.—Trans.
[14] The word means "judgment"; kʊ ńẽ a'ẽ, "thou hast no judgment."
[15] Ribeiro de Sampaio, § 212.

775 the house for all the lumps of clay and piled them on top of each other in front of the loft, so that they could mount the pile, but when it was almost high enough, dʊë' knocked it down with his 539 blowgun. "A snake! a snake!" shrieked the način', scattering, full of fear. Then they tried to make a new pile, but dʊë' knocked it down again with his blowgun. Thus they tried all night. When day was dawning, dʊë' took his blowgun and quiver and started to climb down from the loft. The shades, taking the blowgun for a snake and the quiver for a hornets' nest [cf. p. 111] fled, terrified, in the form of newts, opossums, and toads.

## dʊë' at the Feast of the način'

The same dʊë' decided one day to go to a long-uninhabited tapera, to gather *vará fruits*. His wife wished to accompany him, but he would not let her, for he knew that there were shades of the dead at that very place. Gathering the fruits, he delayed more than he intended, and, as the sun was already low, he resolved to pass the night at the tapera. Quickly he made a shelter with the leaves of the numerous bacabeiras growing around the place, since a heavy rain was approaching. When this had passed and darkness had set in, he heard a noise of many people approaching. They were the shades of the dead coming to the site where the house once stood, and suddenly dʊë' realized that he was there once again in the house as he had been in former days.

Soon the shades of the dead began their celebration. The musical instruments sounded. dʊë' was pleased with the antics and decided to participate. He had eaten *cupú* [a wild chocolate, *Theobroma* sp.]; now he took the seeds which remained in the membranous and viscous hulls, gluing the hulls to his body and penis, and in this disguise began to dance in the midst of the način'. Seeing him, they cried: "It is a man! He shakes his penis [with the movements of the dance]!" But because of the hulls they dared not touch him. Finally, however, they decided to "paint him with genipapo," but dʊë' escaped them, taking refuge in the burrow of a giant armadillo [*tatú canastra; Cheloniscus gigas*].

One of the način' wished to dig him out, but when he had almost reached dʊë', the Indian rattled his quiver. His pursuer, thinking that the noise was that of a hornets' nest, fled. Another način' tried to finish digging him out, but dʊë', with the same trick, made him scamper away, as he did all the rest, too, who dared try it. Suddenly, at dawn the house again vanished, and the shades, transformed into little animals, dispersed in all directions.

## The Old Woman and the način'

An old woman whose son had died went with her four daughters to an abandoned house site in order to fish with timbó in the igarapé near by. They placed their catch on a smoking grill; at dusk they slung their hammocks among some near-by bacabeira trees and fell asleep. Awakening after some time, they discovered with dread that their hammocks were hanging in a large ceremonial house where there were many people dancing. At first the old woman was embarrassed and remained seated with her daughters; finally, however, she took from the grill a package of leaves containing small fry and offered it to one of those present. He, however, answered: "Give it to that one!" She went with the gift to the person indicated, but he sent her to a third, who gave her the same answer. Then the old woman replaced the package on the grill, again sitting down next to her daughters, since she recognized that she was dealing with the shades of the dead.

Meanwhile, a način' in a corner spoke to the shade of her son, who was also there: "It looks as if that is your mother!" The son went over, recognized her, and they conversed. She offered him the smoked fish, but he explained: "We način' no longer eat that kind of food!" Then he advised his mother that it would be better if she left; if not, the shades might want to "paint her with genipapo." The old woman, however, objected, saying that she could not walk in the dark. The son then brought her a resin torch, but when the old woman reached out to take it, it moved; it was a snake, for snakes are the torches of the način'. The old woman shrieked in fear and let fall the torch, whereupon all the shades gathered around, laughing at her. The son remained at her side until, at daybreak, the feast house disappeared and the način' ran away, transformed into small animals.

### čuta'nɛna and the načii'

čuta'nɛna lived with her husband about a day's journey from her parents' house. She had two sons, of whom the younger was gravely ill. Because of this she decided to take him to her father so that he could cure the child. Since her husband did not wish to accompany her or permit her to leave the older boy with him, čuta'nɛna set off with both children. It was already very late when she arrived at her father's house, which she found abandoned, for the Omágua had slain all the inhabitants five days before. 775 539

Willy-nilly, čuta'nɛna with her two sons had to spend the night in the deserted house. When it had grown dark, she heard the inhabitants arriving. Her father came at the head of the file. They all looked exactly like living people. The father greeted his daughter, who asked him to cure his little grandson. Suddenly she noticed that the last persons to arrive were bringing a large quantity of bamboo leaves, which are the fish of the načii'. She asked her mother what they were going to do with all those leaves, and received the answer: "Well, aren't they fish?"

At the same time she heard the quiricá, with which a woman was crushing sweet manioc, singing in a human voice: "čuta'nɛna čanį" nya-a nya-a!" [referring to čuta'nɛna's privates], which made her uneasy. Meanwhile her father ordered her to fetch him tobacco, of which he thrust a wad in each cheek. Then he uttered his magic formula and began to suck at the sick child. He sucked its ribs and completely emptied its skin. Suddenly he fell backward and, with trembling knees, sang in a guttural voice: "I died a long time ago!" [See p. 104.]

The son was already dead. Then čuta'nɛna wondered how she might escape. She told her father that the older boy had diarrhoea and that it was necessary to take him into the bush, whereupon the old man replied: "Go, my daughter!" She took a lighted torch, which she placed on end in the jungle at a spot visible to the shades, and in spite of the darkness went with the boy toward her own house. As soon as she arrived, she told her husband of her adventure. He then called his friends, and all went together to bury the child's body. They found it completely black with the "genipapo" of the načii'. After burying it they returned home.

## THE UNDERWORLD

The most ancient beings of the world are the demons, ńɔɔ'. This is also the most insulting name used among the Tuķuna. Some demons belong to one of numerous clans, others are merely isolated individuals. They are not immortal, though many have powers making them superior, or at least dangerous, to men. Their appearance, as represented in certain masks, is almost always strange and terrible. Sometimes they are represented in human form; their nature, however, revealed involuntarily, is completely different from that of human beings. 772 776

Some of these demons dwell right here on earth; others, like the dyurɛ'u, in heaven. But the great majority live in subterranean lands (na:'pį), to which they have access by caverns. The subaquatic regions are part of this underworld, which comprises various lands with different conditions and separate entrances. The demons are not their sole inhabitants; other residents are human, although with strange defects: blind men, dwarfs, people without an anus. Information on the subject is given in the following legend of čɔë'.

### čɔë' in the Underworld

The Tukuna čɔë' was hunting in the jungle, in order to accumulate the necessary game for a feast he was going to celebrate. He made a little hut, with a platform on which he deposited the smoked game, covering it with leaves, then he again went into the jungle. 539 776

Meanwhile, in spite of his efforts, the pile of smoked meat never grew larger, and it even diminished. He lay in wait, and at midnight he saw the foreleg of a jaguar that was stealing the meat. čɔë' told his companions what he had seen, and added: "Tomorrow I'm going to cut off

539 776 that jaguar's foreleg!" He again lay in wait, and when the foreleg appeared he cut it off. He carried the trophy, together with the meat, to the house, where he showed it to the assembled people, who passed it from hand to hand. Among those present was a king vulture, who himself, in the guise of a jaguar, had stolen the meat. When čɔẽ' passed the severed foreleg to him also, he cried: "This arm is mine!" and immediately replaced the severed member in its proper position. Then he rapidly tore out čɔẽ''s eyes, flying with them to his dwelling in heaven, where he wrapped them in a leaf and with a cipó suspended them from the ridgepole of the house.

A little grasshopper came to blind čɔẽ' to ask for smoked meat. čɔẽ' promised to give him what he wished if the grasshopper would throw down his eyes, which were in heaven. The grasshopper flew to heaven. He gnawed until his jaws bled, but he could not sever the liana with which the package of leaves was tied, and so he received no smoked meat.

Then, a termite, of the species which constructs its covered galleries on wooden surfaces, came with the same request, which čɔẽ' promised to grant if the termite could bring back his eyes. Termite called his companions; they had built their gallery quite close to the package before the king vulture discovered and destroyed their work. The last arrival was the termite that cuts his galleries inside wood; he asked for meat and was promised it in exchange for čɔẽ''s eyes. With his companions he opened a path inside the post and framework of the house, reached the package, and cut the liana. Allowing it to fall, he shouted: "There go your eyes!" The king vulture, who was burning his clearing, heard the shout and immediately ran over, but čɔẽ' had already caught the package and, taking out his eyes, popped them back into place.

čɔẽ' fled, pursued by the king vulture, and came to where there was an old woman who was a buzzard (urubú gereba). "Take my old canoe and flee before King Vulture comes!" she counseled him. čɔẽ' seated himself in the canoe and pushed off with such force that he broke through the earth and came to stop in the underworld ṅẽča'ku.

The first people he met there were the Blind Ones. Their eyes were permanently closed, but they had a great quantity of provisions, of which čɔẽ' appropriated a little to eat. Right away, however, the Blind Ones discovered the theft. "This is čɔẽ' who is robbing us!" they cried. With arms linked, they formed a line and advanced against him, beating at random with cudgels. But he evaded them and escaped.

Then čɔẽ' came upon the pygmy people, whose adults are only of the height of our six-year-old children; this is why čɔẽ' thought that he was dealing with young folk. Going up to the first couple he saw, he asked: "Boy, where is your father?" Then turning to the woman, he said: "Where is your mother, girl?" The dwarf sprang up and called his comrades: "Look you! čɔẽ' treats us like children because we are small and he is big!" They all gathered around, shouting: "Let us play a little with him, and we shall see if he is a real man!" In spite of their small stature these pygmies had prodigious strength. They suspended čɔẽ' by the tips of two of his fingers, and thus passed him from hand to hand. Then they threw him up into the air, stopping his fall with the palm of a hand. Finally, they sent him away.

Farther on, čɔẽ' encountered a people who lacked an anus. They had lots of provisions but could not eat them, limiting themselves to inhaling the odors that drifted up from the cooking. He married a woman of this people. When she observed how her husband ate, she wanted at all cost to imitate him. In spite of čɔẽ''s advising her not to, she began to eat and found it good. Shortly afterward, however, she began to feel violent pains. čɔẽ' counseled her to try to vomit, but she did not succeed. Finally, no longer able to bear the agony, she asked her husband to rip up her anus with a knife. čɔẽ' carried out the operation, and she defecated, but she died shortly after. Then čɔẽ' returned to the earth's surface.

772 This underworld where čɔẽ' sojourned, the same from which aria'na brought maize, is called ṅẽča'ku, "without flower," I do not know why. It is distinct from the other underworld, na:'pi̧, where the demons live.

776 *The demons.*—The most characteristic demons of the subaquatic world are the dyẽ'vaẽ, monsters in the form of gigantic snakes or catfish, which cause treacherous currents. Some are multicolored, like the rainbow, which is nothing but one of these demons. Until the turn of the century there was a dyẽ'vaẽ at the mouth of the

Igarapé de São Jeronymo on the Solimões, which caused an extremely dangerous 776 current costing many lives (see p. 67) and sometimes made it impracticable for anyone to enter the igarapé. The shaman Domingos čʊ'nek|—who was the last true [622] chief of the Tukuna of this igarapé and was grandfather of the shaman Calixto daueru'k|—once passed this place with four other Indians and, finding the current [789] extraordinarily violent, said: "Someone must have irritated the dyë'vaë!" He made [276] an infusion of tobacco in a gourd, drinking it through his nostrils, rolled two long tauarí cigarettes and smoked for a long time. What he did later, Calixto, who was still a boy, did not see, because he slept during the ceremony, but by the next morning the rough current was smooth and quiet.

Later, he heard the old man tell how he had almost failed to return from his visit to the dyë'vaë, and say that now the demon was his friend because he had given him a tobacco infusion to drink through his nostrils. The demon had also told the name of the person who had enraged him, and since then the spot has not been dangerous. Twice a dyë'vaë tried to run aground on his back, "like on a beach," the canoe in which Calixto was traveling. On one of these occasions the leaves of the trees appeared to him like a kaleidoscope of colors from the reflection of the dyë'vaë's colors. Calixto saved himself by hanging onto the paddle with all his strength.

Once, during a thunderstorm, in a deep sinkhole (poço) in the Rio Solimões, near the old village of Santa Cruz dos Kokáma, Calixto saw a dyë'vaë raise his head and neck in the form of a hook above the waters of the river, slowly sinking again. When the head touched the surface of the water, there was a flash of lightning, produced by the demon's opening his eyes beneath the water. This dyë'vaë owns the fish in the Solimões[36] and appears as the eastern rainbow; the dyë'vaë of the western rainbow is the owner of potter's clay [see p. 46]. The legendary mortal enemy of all the dyë'vaë clan is tau/čipë', who, though of human origin, by his education in the subaquatic world acquired demoniacal qualities that at last turned him into an enemy of humanity.

### tau/čipë'

A woman in the last stage of pregnancy went to fetch clay with which to make pottery. dyë'vaë, 539 the owner of the clay, became infuriated, pulled her beneath the water, and swallowed her. Arriving home, he vomited her up and quartered her. He and his companions kept the fetus for 776 roe. A female of the large rays asked for it, and they gave her the fetus. She cradled it carefully beneath the undersurface of her flat body, swimming with it to the calm water near the bank. There she deposited it, curving her body over it, and brooded over it a long time. At last she heard the child cry. She removed him and gave him suck. Then, with great care, so as not to drown him, she carried him to her dwelling beneath the water. The ray brought up the child and gave him the name of tau/čipë'. She told him that she was not his mother, who had been killed by the dyë'vaë. She made a magic basketwork, placed it on the boy's head, and interlaced his hair with it so that the hair, and with it the boy's strength, would increase.

tau/čipë' wanted to kill the dyë'vaë immediately, but the ray advised him not to try it yet, because he was still very weak. When he was six years old, his hair had already grown down to his belt, and he again insisted on attempting to fight the dyë'vaë, but his foster mother still would not permit it. Two more years passed, and by then his hair had grown down to his heels; then he wished to delay no longer. He broke off branches of the *tasyscira* tree[37] with fire ants

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[36] See the legend of mɔ'manc'ki, pp. 151–153.

[37] *Tachygalia* sp. or *Sclerolobium* sp.!

539 776 [*Pseudomyrma dendroica*] clinging to them in swarms, tying the branches round his body. Thus he climbed up a tree branch that hung over the water's edge and challenged the demon to come and fight him. dyŏ'vaĕ appeared, gave him a shock like that of an electric eel, *poraquê* [*Gymnotus electricus*, L.] and swallowed him. "It was thus that he swallowed my mother," said tau/čipŏ' to himself. Later, however, dyŭ'vaŏ' felt such a burning in his stomach from the bites of the fire ants that he vomited up tau/čipŏ'.

Thereupon the hero transformed himself into a large snake and fought with dyŭ'vaĕ, in spite of all the ray's advice. Lacerating each other with their jaws, they rolled to and fro until tau/čipŏ' who, owing to the ray's magic, could squeeze the harder, succeeded in bursting his adversary.

Because of this the other dyŏ'vaĕ hated him. tau/čipŏ', in human form, went ashore, where he gathered a large quantity of cicantã resin,[18] with which he smeared the bench [seat] of the great snakes, which got stuck to it and died. Other demons he challenged to combat, battling with them in the form of a snake. They tore at each other with their jaws until he had killed them.

Then he heard it said that somewhere on dry land his elder brother, named pɔva'ru, still lived. He sought him out and invited him to be his companion. To give them both equal strength, tau/čipŏ' made his brother a magic belt like the one made by the ray. But precisely because of their magical powers the two became hated by all men. When the two brothers later learned that evil was being spoken of them, they transformed themselves into great snakes, dug under their enemies' dwellings, and undermined the houses so that they sank with all their inhabitants.[19] Thus they killed many people. The survivors waited for an occasion when the two brothers were in their midst and, springing at them with poisoned spears, killed them.

Other demons of the subaquatic world are the tënënë'naa, who have the shape of caimans, of whom the following legend is told.

### The End of Maloca Kuyarú[20]

n̂ʊ'ča gave birth to a son. Then they [the tribesmen] killed the daughter of tĕnĕnŏ'naa. The father of tŏnĕnĕ'naa appeared and asked her [n̂ʊ'ča]: "Where did my dear [daughter] go, O n̂ʊ'ča!"

n̂ʊ'ča replied: "They killed her; I, however, did not eat of her because my dear [son] here is just born." [She was under restrictions.] Then the tĕnĕnĕ'naa sang the following: "Go, and if it is the truth, O n̂ʊ'ča, that you refused her [flesh], there is a sorva tree [*Couma sp.*] and a cicantã tree [*Protium heptaphyllum*, Aubl.], one in front of the other. Anoint the soles of your feet with cicantã, and then make balls for yourself with burity seeds and still more cicantã, if it is true that you rejected tŏnĕnŏ'naa, O n̂ʊ'ča!"

n̂ʊ'ča told this to the people, who laughed at her: "n̂ʊ'ča is lying because she has a male child on her lap!" Then she remained silent in regard [to the subject]. At midnight the tĕnĕnŏ'naa began to roar. They [the inhabitants] became furious and ran up and down with their spears, but n̂ʊ'ča ran in silence. To all sides she threw burity seeds rolled in cicantã and rubbed cicantã on the soles of her feet. She threw the burity seeds in every direction [to lead the demons astray with the smell of cicantã]; those which fell into the igarapé went "Pung!" and the others which she threw went "Pang!" Then she followed those which went "Pang!" and with that escaped. The earth [undermined] split asunder and slid [into the water], and she also went to na:'pį [here the subaquatic world] and there hung up her hammock.

### THE CULTURE HEROES: THE IMMORTALS

773 In the old days the most bloodthirsty enemy of the demons was the culture hero dyɔi', the personage of major luster in Tukuna religion. He is the creator of humanity, the originator of all tribal laws and customs, and the one who invented or

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[18] From *Protium heptaphyllum*, Aubl.

[19] I was shown the spot where this happened, on the left bank of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, not quite a kilometer above its mouth.

[20] Literal translation of the original Tukuna text. Kuyarú is a lake on the Rio Jacurapá, a tributary of the Rio Içá.

acquired the most important elements of material culture. At times hard and cruel, 773 he is never the rascally deceiver of humanity represented by the culture heroes of certain other mythologies. Even with his shameless brother, ɛ'pi—a fool, a meddler, and a liar—he is indulgent and helpful, and only once exacts punishment. The Tukuna do not like to call him dyɔi', but give him the title of ta-na'tį ("Our Father"), baia' or bʊ'i, when they do not call him tę'gįne ṅa'pįį' va ya ("He of the right knee"), in contrast to təvẽ' ṅa'pįį' va ya ("He of the left knee"), the name by which they refer to ɛ'pi.

## The Origin of dyɔi' and His Siblings[illegible]

ṅʊ'/tapa grew angry with his wife from time to time. Finally, he tied her to a tree. The hornets 539 stung her genitals. A cancan above her cried: "kɔ'-kɔ-kɔ!" ma:'/pana said: "Oh, if you were a man, O cancan, you would untie me!" The cancan transformed himself into a man because of her. He untied her. He rolled the hornets' nest between his palms [to diminish its size]. Then he gave her the hornets' nest. "With this you will be revenged!" said the cancan. ṅʊ'/tapa recognized her at once; he played on the Panpipes for her: "Who does not recognize this ma:'/pana standing on the point of land!" She tried in vain to surprise him. She crouched at the foot of a *sapopema*, hiding, but ṅʊ'/tapa recognized her at once. Finally she lost her judgment and ran after him; ma:'/pana threw the hornets' nest at his back. The hornets stung ṅʊ'/tapa all over his body; he swelled up. Later the swelling from the hornets' stings subsided; only his knees did not reduce in size, and finally he had a fever. Then ṅʊ'/tapa sat outside in the sun and called his children. "Dear ones, look at what is hurting me so!" he said. They looked. "Papa, it is only a man in your right knee who is planing his blowgun," said ṅʊ'/tapa's children, "and another person sewing her purse net!" [See p. 18.] Then they looked at his left knee: "Papa, it is only a man in your other knee who is scraping his spear, and another person weaving her burden basket!"

Then dyɔi' [in the right knee] had finished: "Let us go! I must fish [with the purse net]!" he said. Answered ɛ'pi [in the left knee]: "Let us go! I must spear pigs!" he said. Answered a'įkįna, ɛ'pi's sister: "Let us go! I must dig manioc!" she said.

## ṅʊ'/tapa Dead and Revived

The four siblings when they emerged from ṅʊ'/tapa's knees were the size of children five years old, and they immediately began to walk. ṅʊ'/tapa recovered slowly. After some time he went out alone to fish with timbó, when a jaguar attacked and devoured him. The four brothers and sisters remained in the care of tɔpe'tįne, ṅʊ'/tapa's mother, who never left off bewailing the death of her son, but when the children asked why he had been killed, she would answer: "It was ashes that killed him." Then the children filled a burden basket with ashes, spilling it over themselves, but they did not die. They again asked the grandmother and she replied: "An ambé leaf fell on him." The children waited beneath an ambé plant until a leaf fell on them, but it killed no one. Only when they were fully grown did tɔpe'tįne tell them the truth. Then dyɔi' and ɛ'pi made a high corral of acapú trunks and on top of it a platform three times as high as a man, on which they lay down. dyɔi' plucked out one of a'įkįna's long hairs and interlaced the ends so as to form a circle, which he slowly drew together. Soon, beginning at the north, the earth grew smaller, forcing all the animals to run south and to the corral, where they had to pass by the brothers' platform. One jaguar after another passed, and they asked each one: "By any chance was it you who devoured ṅʊ'/tapa?" But all replied: "No, the one who did it is still behind me!"

Finally the slayer of ṅʊ'/tapa arrived. She made a horn from the victim's stomach and on it she was playing: "ṅʊ'/tapa arį tįeri' duru'ra!"; but seeing the two brothers on the platform, she quickly swallowed the stomach and began to weep and lament: "Oh, my grandchildren! Such a toothache!" Then dyɔi' brought a chain [*sic*] and, showing it to the jaguar, said: "Look at your necklace, grandmother!"

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[illegible] Literal translation of the original Tukuna text.

539 The jaguar permitted them to place the chain round her neck, and so she was a prisoner. "Let's see your teeth!" said dyəi', and struck her on the nose with a stone; the jaguar fell senseless, but she clenched her jaws. With difficulty dyəi' managed to pry them open at last with a billet of scapá wood. And there in the jaguar's gullet appeared the tip of ŋʊ'/tapa's stomach. ɛ'pi tried to get it out with the end of a pole, but proceeded with such ineptitude as to make it rebound, flying far away in a great curve. It fell into the water, where a gigantic caiman swallowed it. The brothers killed the jaguar, breaking all her bones. Then they tried to reach the caiman, throwing ants' nests into the water until a dry surface was formed, with the exception of a pool wherein the creature lay. They made a loop of the chain and, hanging it from the tip of a pole, passed it over the caiman's head. They throttled him, bringing him ashore; but his jaws had locked, and it cost them a tremendous amount of labor to open them. When finally they had succeeded, the bumbling ɛ'pi again exerted such force that ŋʊ'/tapa's stomach sprang suddenly from the caiman's gullet to some distance away, and was gulped down by a forest lizard, taá. In vain the two brothers strove to open grandmother's mouth; she stubbornly refused to give up the prize.

dyəi' was obliged to hunt for a live coal and apply it to the lizard's throat, and this is why it has a red mark to this day in the corresponding place. ŋʊ'/tapa's stomach appeared in "granny's" mouth, but again ɛ'pi made it spring out suddenly with the tip of his pole, the stomach coming to rest between the wings of a big, blue butterfly [*Morphos menelaus*]. The butterfly closed its wings and would not give up the stomach for any price. They had to burn a hole in its wings. This time dyəi' did not permit ɛ'pi to meddle. He himself took out the stomach and, with it and the flesh and bones found in the jaguar's belly, recomposed ŋʊ'/tapa's body. He stamped his foot on the ground, whereupon ŋʊ'/tapa sprang up, saying: "My son, you have frightened me!"

[115] *Version collected in 1929.*—The two preceding episodes were told to me in quite a different way by "Captain" Felix of Igarapé de Belém in 1929.[illegible]

ngutapa became angry with his wife; he tied her with her legs spread so that her privates were exposed to hornet stings. The caucan freed the woman, who made the hornets attack ngutapa. The hornet stings caused an enormous swelling in ngutapa's right knee, from which finally came two boys, dyoi' and ipi, and two girls, ai'ke and muwa'a. ngutapa, in the form of a deer, was eaten by a jaguar in the jungle, but dyoi' and ipi resolved to avenge him. They made cannibal fish (piranhas) and put them in the igarapé, where the jaguar was accustomed to cross over on top of a log bridge. This they made slippery by daubing it with ambaúva juice so that the jaguar slipped and fell into the water, where she was killed by the voracious fish. They placed her cadaver on shore, taking from her belly the remains of ngutapa, which dyoi' put together again and reanimated with a kick. ngutapa got up and asked how long he had been sleeping.

This version is quite condensed, and on one or another point perhaps I may not have understood the narrator well, but the way in which he told of the jaguar's [171] death is noteworthy because of the parallels in other mythologies.

## The Acquisition of Daylight

In early times a permanent darkness reigned on earth. A sumaúma tree covered the entire sky with its foliage, permitting no light to pass through. The nocturnal monkey used to pass by every day. He had eaten nanone-cane fruits [l.g., arara tucupy] and, because of this, each time he let fall his excrements one would see a glow. dyəi' observed him and, following him secretly, found the fruit tree. He gathered a quantity of hulls from the ground and invented the hurling-fork.[illegible] With it he threw hull after hull against the leafy cover. The projectiles pierced it, and through each hole a small light appeared. Thus the stars were formed.

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, Tukuna-Indianera, p. 189.

[illegible] T., kɤ|ruruə'/, a stick split at one end with a cord tied below the split. The cord is rolled round [411] a seed, placed in the cleft, and cast with a forceful snap of the forearm. Speiser observed similar instruments among the Aparaí, Rydén among the Toba, and I among the Šerénte.

brother should get the left half, since dyɔi′ had emerged from ãʊ′/tapa's right knee and ɛ′pi from the left. ɛ′pi continued to wheedle, but dyɔi′ remained firm, giving the right half to mɔva′ča, insisting that she exchange the halves. mɔva′ča hid her half between her knees and, when ɛ′pi sought to snatch it away, he touched his sister's privates. At once she was transformed into a collared peccary (taitetú) and ran along the bank of the igarapé, where she began to eat swamp snails. There the demon ma/či′ of the Jaguar clan found her and, realizing that she had been dishonored by her brother, shot her with one of his hornet-shaped darts. mɔva′ča ran back to the house, where she fell dead. dyɔi′ examined her carefully, forbidding ɛ′pi to approach, but the latter, promising to cover his eyes with his hands, kept inching forward and peeping through his fingers, and thus saw dyɔi′ eventually discover the hornet's sting in mɔva′ča's sexual parts and remove it. After some time she began to stir, and by afternoon she was well once again.

## dyɔi′ and ɛ′pi Kill the Demon ma/či′

dyɔi′ and ɛ′pi made a fish weir in the igarapé, but every day the paturí [a small duck][illegible] opened the enclosure in order to swim through. Finally dyɔi′ grew angry and threatened to kill her. She heard the threat and replied: "Grandson, why do you wish to kill me instead of your enemy who sings your names [derogatively]? Really, your hearing is quite bad. Come here and rest your head on my lap!" She plucked a feather from her wing and with it removed a quantity of royal-hawk plumage from the two brothers' ears, so that at once they heard the jaguar demon ma/či singing and mocking them because of their sister mɔva′ča's dishonor. The duck gave them the form of two pigeon fledgelings. In a torrential downpour she arrived with them at ma/či′'s house, asking for a place near the fire for herself and her little grandchildren, and her request was granted. ma/či was seated by his mortar.[illegible] He called ambaúva leaves to come so he could pound them up in the mortar and eat the resulting paste, but the leaves did not come as before. At length ma/či′ arose to fetch them himself. On the way he stopped, glanced back, and caught sight of a ripe fruit on the trunk of an abiú tree hardly a handbreadth above the ground. Hurrying back, he tried to pick it, but as he approached, the fruit rose higher and was soon out of reach. Seeing this, he again set off after the ambaúva leaves, but, turning his head, he saw once more the abiú fruit quite close to the ground. He ran back as fast as he could, but the fruit again rose beyond his grasp. Then he gave up and went to search for ambaúva leaves, but did not find any. He returned to the house in a rage and, brandishing a club, dashed toward the little pigeons. "Is it perchance dyɔi′ who is doing this to me?" But the duck held her wings over the two in protection, pleading for her grandchildren's lives. ma/či′ again set out to hunt for ambaúva leaves. The scene with the elusive fruit was repeated and again he did not find what he sought. At last dyɔi′ cried: "Abiú, do not flee!" And when ma/či′ came by, the fruit remained within reach. Promptly he seized it with both hands, but it turned into a wasps' nest, the inmates of which attacked him without mercy. He ran to the house and cried: "Mortar, help me!"

But the mortar turned into a tarantula, which bit him. "Help me, club!" he screamed, but the club turned into a snake and also bit him. Thereupon dyɔi′ and ɛ′pi resumed human form and attacked him with clubs, killing him. A jaguar, passing by and seeing what occurred, cried out: "Don't crush his skull! I want to make a horn for myself!" The duck asked for the wrist bones, and the brothers kept the thigh bones for themselves in order to make flutes from them. The soul of ma/či′ is now in the upper world. There it attacks the souls of the incestuous when they arrive. Then one hears on earth the muted humming of ma/či′'s hornets.[illegible]

*Version collected in 1929.*—In 1929 I collected in the Igarapé de Belém the following quite incomplete and poorly understood version of this episode:

dyoi′ and ipi met in the jungle the female [?] demon mači making *coca* [? paricá!] powder and singing the two brothers' names. These two created poisonous snakes, scorpions, and centipedes at the foot of an ambaúva tree, forbidding the leaves to fly to mači when she called them in order to burn them [ambaúva-leaf ash is mixed in with paricá powder]. When the leaves failed to

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[illegible] *Querquedula brasiliensis?*

[illegible] T., ka′õ/ã, an object never used by the Tukuna.

[illegible] See p. 110.

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Having verified in this way that light existed above the foliage, he, together with his brother ɛ'pi and aided by ants and termites, began to fell the tree. Cutting the trunk, they severed it completely, but the tree did not fall. They thought that some liana was holding it above, and dyəi' promised a'ɨkɨna, ɛ'pi's sister, in marriage to anyone who would climb up and loosen the tree. A number of suitors appeared, but none succeeded in reaching the top. The big squirrel [acutipurú] tried, but climbed only as high as a house roof and soon returned. When the little squirrel [ta'ɨne] also presented himself, everyone thought that the result would be even worse. He, however, climbed to the topmost branches and saw that it was not a liana but a two-toed sloth [*Bradypus didactylus*] that was holding the tree up. The squirrel returned, collected many fire ants [T., ʋ°/ne], placed them on his flattened tail, and climbed up again. Coming up to the sloth, he threw the ants into its eyes, then quickly descended, since the sloth immediately let go of the tree and began to fall. The squirrel had not yet reached the ground when the tree crashed, and from the force of the rebound his tail was bent over his back. He married a'ɨkɨne.

## The Acquisition of Sleep

The only one who possessed sleep in the old days was pě'ta, who belonged to a generation much older than ŋʊ'/tapa. He slept like a dead man, but dyəi' and his kinfolk could not sleep. dyəi' went to see pě'ta and asked him to give him a little of his sleep. pě'ta grasped the hair on top of his own head with one hand and then, placing the hand on dyəi''s head, said: "Take the sleep!" But it was a lie; he gave nothing to dyəi', who as before was unable to sleep. So he waited until pě'ta was asleep and then sneaked up to him. With both hands he lifted off the sleep from pě'ta and placed it on himself, but only over his chest and face so that he would not fall into too deep slumber. pě'ta's domestic animal was the toad vaa'. Seeing what dyəi' was doing, she cried out: "Wake up, master! Someone's trying to steal your sleep!" pě'ta, who had been dreaming, awoke in a rage at the disturbance and seized his lance, but vaa' quickly set a pot containing urucú dye on her head. pě'ta thrust his lance into the pot and, examining the tip, mistook the red urucú for blood, and lay down again satisfied, but he could not sleep.

After some time vaa' again shouted: "Wake up! Here comes a wild beast!" and again quickly set the urucú pot on her head. Again pě'ta aimed the lance at her, which struck the pot instead, so that examining the lance head he still thought it was blood. Only after the third time did he realize that he had been fooled.

## dyəi' and ɛ'pi in the Royal Hawk's Nest

dyəi' and ɛ'pi set out to kill a royal hawk whose nest was in a tall and enormously thick tree. They tied poles together as a ladder and climbed up. Arriving at the top, ɛ'pi looked down and said: "Dear brother, I think the ladder is falling!" And immediately the ladder came apart, the pieces falling to the ground. The two could no longer climb down, and so they remained squatting in the nest until they both were half dead from thirst. Suddenly dyəi' saw an aiča' bird flying past and said: "Oh, if you were only a man and could bring us water!" The bird assumed human form and brought them a small gourd filled with pamá-fruit juice. ɛ'pi drank first and, as dyəi' remained silent, drank excessively, but he still did not empty the gourd; then dyəi' also drank. Presently ɛ'pi wished to urinate, but dyəi' yelled at him: "Restrain yourself, my brother!" ɛ'pi squeezed his penis, but the urine oozed out from between his fingers and became transformed into the spiny-barked *cipó ambé*.

Finally, the last drops fell upon a branch, but one very far below, and there the cipó became attached. Then dyəi' urinated straight down. His urine became transformed into the smooth-barked cipó ambé, and as the last drop fell on the branch where they were, the plant attached itself. They killed the royal hawk with a blowgun when he returned to the nest, and he fell to the earth. Then dyəi' transformed himself into a nocturnal monkey and ɛ'pi into an opossum, in which shapes they both clambered down the liana.

## The Dishonor of məva'ča

dyəi' and ɛ'pi carried the dead royal hawk home, but when they divided the kill among themselves, ɛ'pi insisted absolutely that he should receive the right half. dyəi', however, thought that his appear at madi's call, she went to the tree herself, where she was bitten by the poisonous creatures and died The brothers made flutes from her leg bones, abandoning the rest of the skeleton to various animals for similar purposes.

### ɛ'pi Liberates Gnats and Mosquitoes

dyɔi' and ɛ'pi each made, in the jungle, a long fence with some openings, in which they set nooses to catch the birds and small animals that might attempt to pass through [see p. 31]. In one of dyɔi''s snares a forest turkey became trapped by one leg. ɛ'pi, who visited the traps every hour, discovered it first. Removing it and placing it in his own snare, he ran to tell his brother that he had caught a turkey. The fowl was so tame that he decided to keep it as a pet. It slept on the ridgepole of the house, and at dawn began to sing: "dyɔi''s snare caught me by the leg; ɛ'pi carried me to his!" ɛ'pi, enraged at hearing this, went to fetch a long pole, with which he killed the bird on top of the house. His sister carried it to the edge of the igarapé to take out the tripes. As she removed the stomach, she heard within it a humming sound. She did not open it but hid the stomach. At this point ɛ'pi arrived and asked: "Sister, where is the forest turkey's stomach?" "I threw it away," answered the girl. "Where did you throw it? I want it!" demanded ɛ'pi, but she refused to show him where she had hidden it. Then ɛ'pi waited until she returned to the house, then searched along the bank until he found the stomach hidden beneath a tree trunk from which they used to dip water. But when he opened it, out poured a cloud of gnats and mosquitoes which attacked him with such fury that he fell dead upon the spot. After the turkey had been prepared, dyɔi' called in vain for his brother. Searching for him, he went down to the landing and found him dead at the water's edge, covered by a cloud of insects. dyɔi' fetched him a kick in the backside, whereupon ɛ'pi sprang up at once, crying: "My brother, how you have frightened me!"

### ɛ'pi on the ba'ë Demon's Hook

A ba'ë demon was seated on the bank of an igarapé, fishing with a hook, which got entangled at the bottom of the creek. dyɔi' came along with ɛ'pi, who saw that the ba'ë did not know what to do, and took pity on him. In spite of his brother's advice to the contrary, ɛ'pi decided to release the ba'ë's hook. Transformed into a small otter, ɛ'pi swam toward the hook, but this leaped at him, hooking him. The ba'ë pulled him ashore, killed him, and carried him to his [the demon's] own house. After pondering for a long time what he should do, dyɔi' decided to rescue his brother in the afternoon. All the demons had gone off to the work party of one of them when dyɔi' entered the house. Taking poison from the van' toad, he mixed it with the drink, caiçuma, that was in the jars. ɛ'pi's body was in a pot, transformed into mush. As soon as the ba'ë demons returned from work, they began to swill the poisoned beverage. At first they felt nothing, but when they wished to begin their meal they fell dead, one after another. Only one, who had been delayed on the path and arrived late, saw the others dead on the floor and fled. Then dyɔi' came out of his hiding place, removed the flesh and bones of ɛ'pi from the pot, and recomposed his brother. He stamped his foot on the ground, and at once ɛ'pi sprang up, saying: "My brother, you have frightened me!"

*Version collected in 1929.*—A fragment of this episode, also poorly understood in part, was given to me in 1929 by "Captain" Felix. [115]

The brothers met in the forest the ʊ'kai demons,[illegible] who were returning home to eat. The two waited until the demons had gone into the jungle again, and then poisoned their drinking water with toad ashes. In the afternoon the ʊ'kai returned thirsty, drank the poisoned water, and fell dead, one after another. Only the last to arrive became suspicious and fled.

### ɛ'pi in the ba'ë Demon's Snare

dyɔi' and ɛ'pi found in the jungle a noose set by some ba'ë. "Do you want to see, brother," asked ɛ'pi, "how I kick at this?" But dyɔi' advised him to leave the snare as it was. ɛ'pi trod on the

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[illegible] According to the most recent information, the belief is that these demons live on the earth's surface, below the jungle undergrowth.

539 noose and was caught in it by the buttocks. In vain, dyəi' strove to untie the knot, which was tied in a certain way known only to the ba'ẽ.

Then he rapidly wove a basket of uarumã and placed it over e'pi's head, thereby transforming his brother into a deer. By then the ba'ẽ was arriving to examine his snare. He killed the deer, sucked its nose, and then untied the knot without the slightest difficulty. dyəi' observed everything from his hiding place. The ba'ẽ lifted the kill to carry it home but, finding it too heavy, set about to make a carrying strap of envira. He found a matamatá tree, but the envira was no good.[illegible] He found another tree, but that was even worse. On the third tree the loosened strip grew wider and wider at the top and could not be pulled free in spite of all the ba'ẽ's efforts. Finally, he was obliged to climb the tree in order to cut the bark free at its upper end. Meanwhile dyəi' revived his brother and both fled.

## The Girl of the Umari Fruit

dyəi' and e'pi went to attend the puberty festival of their niece, the daughter of the squirrel, ta'ịne, who had married their sister a'ịkịna [see p. 124]. e'pi no longer recognized his brother-in-law and, while the brothers were returning from the celebration, he repeatedly asked who had been the host, but dyəi' always replied that he did not know either. At the feast it had been arranged that dyəi', not e'pi, was to get the girl. However, e'pi insisted that he wanted to marry her and for this purpose wished to return to ta'ịne's house, but he could no longer find the way.

Meanwhile, the girl had already arrived at the brothers' house. In the yard there stood a large umari tree [T., tõ'ẽi]. She transformed herself into an umari fruit, the only one on the tree, whence her name tõẽi-arị-ãuị' ["Girl of Umari"]. As soon as he saw it, e'pi wished to pick the fruit, but dyəi' forbade him. Then e'pi swept the ground clear beneath the tree in order to find the fruit as soon as it should drop, and bided his time.

dyəi' went hunting, killed many birds, and returned, tired and stained with blood. Giving the birds to e'pi for cleaning and plucking, he went off to bathe. Meanwhile the umari fruit fell. The girl again assumed human form and waited for dyəi', who soon joined her. He rolled her between the palms of his hands, thus reducing her size until he was able to conceal her inside his bone flute. Much later, e'pi finished his labors and, returning to the house, saw at once that the fruit was neither on the tree nor on the ground. He accused his brother of having eaten or hidden it, but dyəi' answered that probably some agouti had carried it off.

For four days dyəi' went nightly to bring the girl to his hammock, playing with her in silence. Always just before daybreak he hid her once more in his bone flute. On the fifth night she laughed with him and the little snailshell bells on her armbands tinkled. "My brother," immediately asked e'pi, "with whom are you laughing?" "Nothing," answered dyəi'. "The broom laughed because I tickled it!" Then e'pi got up, fetched a broom, tied a snailshell bell on it, lay down with the broom in his hammock, and began to tickle it. "Brother," he complained, "the broom does not laugh!" "So?" answered dyəi'. "Mine does!" When on the following night e'pi again heard the girl's laughter, he began to ask who was with dyəi', and the latter replied that he was playing with the rocking-board. e'pi at once got up to bring a rocking-board to his hammock and began to tickle it. However, it did not laugh.

tõẽiarịãuị' was now dyəi''s wife, but he continued to hide her in the bone flute every day before dawn, so that e'pi would not see her. However, the latter was convinced that his brother had a wife and he searched for her everywhere. One day when dyəi' had gone hunting, e'pi took his bow and arrows and shot a large quantity of small fish [ai'ke] in the igapó. He brought them home, where he poured them into a large potsherd, which he placed over the fire. When the sherd grew hot, the still living fish began to jump about. e'pi then pulled his penis free of his waist cord and danced around the fire, singing: "ẽau tarakunyẽ'-nyẽ'-nyẽ'!" With this, his penis began to flop up and down.

tõẽiarịãuị' saw this from her hiding place and could not resist laughing. At once e'pi stopped and looked all around, listening carefully, but as he discovered nothing he continued his dance. Once more tõẽiarịãuị' had to laugh, and this time e'pi discovered her inside the flute. He pulled

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[illegible] The bast of the envira do matamatá (*Eschweilera* sp.) may be ripped away from top to bottom, after the initial cut has been made, the long strips being of equal width.

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her out, fornicated with her, and afterward attempted to place her in the flute again, but he could not do so, for she was already big with child.

Then ɛʻpi went to collect some *pariubinha* fruits and rubbed the white paste on his glans. Thus he went to meet his brother and, when he saw him approaching, he cried: "Look, brother! I still have all this tallow from the very beginning on my glans!" [That is, he had not yet enjoyed coitus.] So saying, he pulled back the foreskin and the white paste fell out. However, dyɔi' realized what had happened and paid no attention to ɛʻpi or to tëčiarɨ̃ŭi' who, being pregnant, was seated in the house. Irritated, he threw the game to one side, roasting a toucan for himself and eating it alone.

The next morning the boy tęku-kɨra' ["Tail feather," a name of the kɔ'u clan] was born. dyɔi' ordered ɛʻpi to bring genipapo fruits in order to paint his son black. ɛʻpi climbed up the genipapo tree, but the more he climbed the higher the tree grew. He had already climbed so high that he could see the Rio Solimões [about five leagues away] from his perch. "Brother," shouted ɛʻpi, "I think I see the Omágua coming downstream!" "Hold your tongue!" dyɔi' ordered angrily, "What did you have to say that for?" "No," answered ɛʻpi, "these people are good for us to fight." That is why the Omágua were the deadly enemies of the Tukuna.

ɛʻpi finally picked a genipapo fruit on the topmost branch of the tree and began to climb down, but in order to punish him dyɔi' caused an enormous fungus [orelha de pau] to grow horizontally round the circumference of the trunk. ɛʻpi, transformed into a *tucandira* ant, finally managed to overcome the obstacle. dyɔi' ordered him to grate the genipapo. After grating the fruit, ɛʻpi asked: "Is this enough?" "Not yet," replied his brother, "keep on grating!" "Is it enough now?" ɛʻpi asked after a while, but dyɔi' ordered him to continue. ɛʻpi grated his hands, his arms, and finally all of himself, so that he became mixed in with the genipapo. dyɔi' took this to tëčiarɨ̃ŭi' so that she might paint the child black, advising her not to lose any of the residue. This remained for three days in a leaf bowl of açahy spatulate.

*Version collected in 1929.*—My informant of 1929 told this story in the following way.

In the jungle there was a woman with her little daughter, fleeing from the ʊ'kai, who had already devoured all her kin. Seeing the path blocked by a copse of *tiririca* shrubs the girl began to cry and refused to go on. Then the mother ordered her to go with dyoi'. dyoi' made the girl climb an umari tree, where she was transformed into a fruit; hence her name, tëčariui.

In the afternoon she began to sing, and at night she took human form and went to play with dyoi'. ipi, hearing her laughter in the darkness, asked who was with dyoi', and dyoi' replied that the rocking-board was laughing because he had tickled it. ipi got up, brought a rocking-board and tickled it, but it did not laugh, and the same thing happened with the grinding-trough and with the broom, which he tried successively in accordance with his brother's answers.

By morning tëčariui again transformed herself into an umari fruit, singing the brothers' names from her branch. In vain, ipi searched for the singer while dyoi' was in the jungle. At midday the fruit ripened and fell, and ipi at once ran forward to seize it, but she hid herself. ipi swept the ground surrounding the tree, with a broom, but failed to find her. At night, tëčariui again went to dyoi''s hammock; she was already a young woman [i.e., nubile]. She laughed no more but slept with him. In the morning dyoi' hid her in his bone flute before going off into the jungle.

ipi went to the igarapé to catch *tamoatás*. He brought a basketful to the house, kindled a fire beneath the oven, and spilled the fish into it. The tamoatás jumped about in the hot oven, and ipi danced round them. tëčariui saw this from her hiding place and laughed. At once ipi searched for her but could not find her. Twice more he repeated this scene with the fish until he finally discovered her in the flute. Blowing on this, he forced tëčariui out and had coitus with her until his sperm exuded from her mouth and nostrils. Afterward he wished to return her once more to the flute. Since she was pregnant, she could no longer enter.

Then ipi grew fearful of his brother. He smeared the white paste from tucum nuts over his glans to give the impression that he had not had intercourse for a long time; thus he went to meet dyoi'. dyoi' at once realized what had taken place; seizing tëčariui, he shook her, and with this she gave birth to the boy čieki°. Then dyoi' ordered his brother to fetch genipapo fruits to

539 paint the child. He *forced* ipi to climb the tree upside down and to pick the *fruits* with his *feet.* From above, ipi shouted that in the distance he could see people: they were the Omágua who were coming down the Rio Solimões, riding the current in their dugouts.

dyoi' caused an enormous fungus to grow round the tree trunk, but ipi, in the form of a tucandira ant, passed over the obstacle. Then dyoi' caused a spiny bush [*nanahy*] to appear at the foot of the tree, but ipi, in the form of a fleck of cotton, let himself *fall* lightly and reached the ground unharmed. Then dyoi' ordered him to grate the *fruits.* When these had been grated, he would not permit ipi to stop but compelled him to grate his hands, his arms, and finally himself, he being mixed in with the grated fruits. dyoi' painted the boy with it [the mixture], left the rest in the igarapé, and constructed an enclosure round it. Many small fish remained imprisoned within the enclosure, and so they grew up, *feeding* themselves from the substance.

## The Creation of Mankind

dyɔi' went hunting, but when he returned he gave nothing to tëčiarjâʊi', so she suffered *from* hunger. She thought: "Oh, if ɛ'pi were only here I should not be hungry!" dyɔi' read her thoughts and asked: "Do you want my brother again?" "Yes," she replied, "because while he was here I lacked nothing." Then dyɔi' ordered her to throw the remaining genipapo into the waters of the igarapé where she and the child were wont to bathe. Afterward he went to hunt and brought her many monkeys and birds so that she might eat her fill, since he was no longer angry with her. Afterward he constructed a *fence* of anajá palm stalks round the residue.

From the substance was generated a large number of small fish, but ɛ'pi was not among them.[illegible] dyɔi' began to angle for them with a hook, using a stone as bait at first. As soon as he pulled these fish out of the water they were transformed into jaguars. Then he tried with bait of urucurí hulls, and the fish he caught were transformed into squirrels. He tried fishing with tucumã hulls, and the fish thus hooked were changed into pigs. Finally, using sweet manioc as bait, he caught a fish which was transformed into an Indian.

He continued to fish with this bait until he had caught a large number of people. Suddenly, he sighted ɛ'pi approaching in the shape of a fish with a golden spot on its head. dyɔi' threw the bait to him several times, but ɛ'pi did not bite. Then dyɔi' called tëčiarjâʊi' and handed her the hook; hardly had she thrown the line, when ɛ'pi darted at the bait, allowing himself to be hooked and pulled ashore, where he immediately resumed his human form and began to tell this tale.

He had come *from* the land of gold [T., ʊ'irʊ, Lg., *ouro*, gold] in the east and, as soon as they should part again, would return there where there was this brilliant thing; and he said that dyɔi' should go to the west. However, dyɔi' first of all ordered him to fish *for* men also. But ɛ'pi killed all his fish as soon as he had caught them, giving them no chance to become transformed into people, until tëčiarjâʊi' showed him how to proceed.

*Version collected in 1929.*—The legend was told me in 1929, as follows.

When the fish in dyoi''s enclosure were large, he baited his hook with a stone and went there. All the fish he pulled ashore became pigs; because of this [the stone bait?] they have strong teeth. Then he fished with green maize, and the fish were transformed into Tukuna Indians; because of this [the maize bait?] they have teeth of poor resistance. Afterward he tried in vain *for* a long time to angle *for* his brother. At last, giving the hook to tëčariui, he said: "See if you can take out *your lover!*" ipi at once seized the hook, allowing himself to be pulled ashore, where he resumed his *former* shape. dyoi' then handed him the hook in order that he also should catch his people. ipi, however, killed all the fish he caught, before they had time to become people. dyoi' had to instruct him how to proceed, and then ipi with sweet manioc bait caught the Kokáma and the other tribes of the Peruvian Amazon. Finally dyoi' made Negroes *from* the rest of the genipapo.

## Clan Recognition

A great number of these first people caught by dyɔi' and ɛ'pi were jumbled about without distinction. But dyɔi' separated them, putting his to the east and ɛ'pi's to the west. Then he ordered

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[825] [illegible] The name ɛ'pi is also applied to a small fish with a golden spot on its head.

that a jacurarụ be cooked, and compelled everyone to taste the broth. Thus each one became aware 539 of the clan to which he belonged. Afterward dyɔi' ordered the members of the two groups to marry between themselves.

According to another version, a pot with jacuruxy stew was sent from the upper world by ta-ĕ' for the purpose of differentiating the clans.

### The Origin of Languages

The first man caught by dyɔi' was dəvį'. After communication with the upper world was interrupted [see the following tale] he tried to reëstablish it. He called together all the men for a work party in order to pile up earth so that from the top one could reach the upper world. For the feeding of all these people dəvį' had only two hummingbird eggs. The mountain of earth had already reached an enormous height when a certain nyĕ'kaeča stole the two eggs and ate them himself. At once no one could understand the speech of his fellows.

When dəvį' discovered the theft and demanded in a loud voice who the thief was, no one understood him, and all cried out in different tongues. At the same time, the mountain of earth subsided, forming the various mountains that still exist today. Because of the lack of understanding among themselves, the men could not undertake the task again, and the tribes left, each in a different direction. dəvį' remained at the spot with the Tukuna, becoming their first chief.

### dyɔi' Steals Fire

tɔpɛ'tįne, dyɔi''s grandmother [see p. 122] had a foster son whose face and body were all covered with warts, for which reason they called him bẹči-natį ["Father of Warts"]. dyɔi' could not stand him and mocked him incessantly. For this reason tɔpɛ'tįne took bẹči-natį and moved to the upper world, which was still linked to earth by a notched-log ladder by which men could climb and descend at will.

Only tɔpɛ'tįne possessed fire. She took it with her to the upper world, and on earth there was none. dyɔi' resolved to steal it. While the Father of Warts was sleeping in a partitioned space, dyɔi' assumed his shape, pretended to be very cold, and asked tɔpɛ'tįne to let him get warm at her fire. She consented, and as soon as she had gone out for some task, dyɔi' went to fetch the Father of Warts from his compartment. He waited until a great chunk of kindling was well ablaze, seized it, dealt the Father of Warts a blow in the belly, and fled with the fire. It was some time before the victim was able to call his foster mother. When she learned what had happened, she hunted for the ax in order to cut the log ladder leading to the earth, but, since she could not find the tool at once, dyɔi' had already reached the earth with his firebrand by the time she finally succeeded in cutting the lianas securing the ladder.

According to another version, dyɔi' himself destroyed the ladder because he saw that many people preferred the upper world and were migrating there. "Why do [773] you want to move to the upper world? Your place is here on earth!" he said, and ordered the ladder destroyed. dyɔi' also invented the friction fire sticks of *cupú do matto* wood.

Still another version of the origin of fire is found in the following legend.

### The Acquisition of Cultivated Plants

An old woman lived alone and far away from other people. She had a hard time of it, since the Indians of that period did not yet know of sweet manioc. One day she observed some saúva ants carrying a white substance. She took a piece and smelled it. "What an agreeable smell!" she said. She followed the ants until she came to the edge of a pool in the igarapé, where on the bank was a large tree bearing all kinds of sweet manioc fruits. These fell into the water, where they got softened.

She took a piece, placed it in her armpit, and dried it by her own body heat. Afterward she tried the dried substance and liked it. She gathered a large quantity, dried it in the sun, and took it home. One day her grandchildren came to visit her and ate of it. They thought it delicious and asked their grandmother where she had got it. However, the old woman would not tell them; when they persisted, she only answered that it was a present from ta-ə̃'. She had a crony, the nocturnal swallow [bacurão], which had fire in its beak. The two no longer dried the sweet manioc in their armpits or in the sun, but secretly made fire and baked manioc flat cakes in the oven. Everyone who had a chance to try these found them excellent, but when people inquired about their preparation, the old woman merely answered that they were baked in the sun. When the swallow heard this lie from the old woman, she could not resist laughing, and the flames burst from her mouth. Seeing this, some of those present thought: "Has she fire in her mouth?"

One day a boy noticed the old woman take fire from the night swallow's mouth and light the fire under the oven. When he told the others this, they decided to take the fire away from the swallow, bacurão. But she, seeing so many people coming, quickly removed all the fire from under the oven and placed it in her mouth, which she stubbornly refused to open. Finally, the men pried open her beak by force and removed the fire. This is why swallows have such gaping beaks.

However, they still did not know where the sweet manioc came from. At last one man secretly followed the old woman and saw the tree bearing the fruit. Back at the house, he again asked the old woman whence the substance came; when she refused to tell, he informed her that he already knew where she got it and from which tree it was. He took the others to the spot, and they not only picked all the fruit but dug up all the roots as well. The tree died and fell, and no one had sweet manioc thereafter.

The deer had been coming to the tree, had seen what the men were doing, and had broken off branches of all kinds with slips, which he kept covered in his basket. dyɔi' and his companions were fishing with timbó in the igarapé when the deer came by; slung from his body was his covered basket, which he never let out of his sight. A little way off he sat down and ate. As soon as he had finished and gone away, dyɔi' went to examine the spot, where he found several bits of sweet manioc, yams, and potatoes. He tried them and thought highly of the deer's food.

Then he shouted behind him, "We are going home now! Don't you want to gather the fish we have left in the water?" and pretended to leave with his companions. But he returned secretly and transformed himself into a tree by the riverbank, extending his arms as branches over the surface of the water.

The deer came, saw that many dead fish still remained in the igarapé, and entered the water. But his covered basket hindered him, so he finally hung it on one of the branches overhanging the igarapé. dyɔi' made the dead fish float downstream with the current and, when the deer went after them, seized the basket and made off with it. The deer, seeing this, cried, "So it was dyɔi''s arm? Well, I'll help you anyway! Plant in a new clearing!"

dyɔi' took the basket to his companions. Opening it, they found that the top was full of a quantity of sweet manioc and yam tubers, and potatoes, and below this they found the slips and seeds of all cultivated plants. They ate the tubers and planted the slips and seeds according to the deer's instructions.

## The Acquisition of the Stone Ax

A benign spirit in human form named tʊ|"ta owned the stone ax, with which he used to knock on tree roots (sapopemas) at night. "With what is he knocking?" pondered dyɔi'. He followed tʊ|"ta until he came to a patch of second growth, where a wild-chocolate tree [cupú], bearing fruit was standing. dyɔi' took the shape of a cupú fruit beneath the tree. tʊ|"ta came and, seeing the fruit, said, "There is my wild chocolate!" He seized it, but the fruit bit his finger and would not let go. The spirit realized that he had been tricked, and cried, "Let me go, dyɔi'!" "No, I won't!" dyɔi' answered. "Release me!" "Only if you give me the stone ax!" "No, you shan't have it! Let me go!" "Only if you give me the stone ax!"

Thus the two bickered for some time, until at last dyɔi' exerted more pressure on the finger, forcing the spirit to give him the ax. dyɔi' seized it with both hands, released tʊ|"ta's finger, and fled, hotly pursued by the spirit. They arrived at a large kapok tree, around which dyɔi' began to dash in a circle, relentlessly followed by the spirit, until the latter grew tired and dyɔi' escaped. "Give me my ax!" howled tʊ|"ta behind him. "No, I'll not give it back!" answered dyɔi', already away. tʊ|"ta made another stone ax; even today one may occasionally hear him beating on tree roots with it.

## dyəi' Imprisons the Child-eating Jaguar

The jaguar pẹti' had already killed many children. As soon as he would hear a wailing child, who had been left alone by its parents, he would take the form of the child's mother and carry it away, saying, "Put your nose directly against my anus!" Then he would kill the child by breaking wind and would devour it. dyəi' assumed the shape of a child. With his carrying sling [tipoia] over his arm, he stationed himself by the side of the path and wept. pẹti' arrived, took him on his back, and told him to place his nose directly against the anus; dyəi', however, placed it to one side. The jaguar broke wind repeatedly, but in vain. Each time he ran faster and faster. When he passed a house the inhabitants cried out, "Where are you going with ta-na'tị [Our Father]?" Then pẹti' realized with whom he was dealing and begged him to dismount, but dyəi' would not. pẹti' ran again. He entered the underworld through a mountain cavern, constantly begging dyəi' to let him go free. 539

dyəi' ordered pẹti' to return to the place where they had met. At that place there was a muirapiranga tree that had a smooth hole in its trunk. Through this, dyəi' thrust both of the jaguar's arms and secured them firmly. From the other side of the trunk pẹti' grabbed his dance tube of bamboo[illegible] with both hands and began to sing. He called for the bat to come and wipe his breech. Other demons of the Jaguar clan arrived and gave him food. At times even today one may hear their racket in a place called naimə'kị, on the left bank of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, in a patch of second growth next to the abandoned *fazenda* of the Tukuna Tiberio Tuyuca.

## baia' (dyəi') and the ba'ë Demons

baia' went hunting, leaving his wife and three children at home. A ba'ë demon came along, carrying arara tucupy fruits, and passed the house. When the woman saw him, she thought, "If he would only give me those fruits!" The ba'ë read her thoughts at once and asked her to lie with him. Observing that he had no penis, the woman thought, "What in the world can he want with me?" Again the ba'ë divined her thoughts and, stepping to one side, shouted, "nyəni'kẹ nyəpenai'kẹ ʊ:!" And at once his penis appeared, which was this long [1 m.] and this thick [a handbreadth]. The woman died of the intercourse. The ba'ë devoured her and threw the bones to the edge of the clearing; only her empty skin remained.

The ba'ë's sister arrived. The demon ordered her to sit by the side of the door and covered her with the dead woman's skin. Then he went away; but not very far from the house he climbed a tree f[illegible] which he could see anyone passing by. baia''s eldest son, who had seen everything, went to meet his father on the path; however, the latter already knew what had taken place. With his blowgun he went to the tree in which the ba'ë was sitting and shot one poisoned dart after another at him, but the demon only murmured, "itịkẹ na'i nu'u'!" ["How many deer flies!"]

Then baia' uttered a magic formula beneath his h[illegible]e, so that the demon would let slip the secret of how to kill him, and in fact the ba'ë did say, "Don't you know how I may be killed? The white mould on açahy fruits will kill me at once!" baia' went to search for açahy fruits, tipping his darts with their white mould; then he again shot and struck the ba'ë's foot. At once the foot began to melt like hot resin, then the leg, and then the other leg, the body also, and the arms. The pieces dripped down to the ground, and the ba'ë said each time, "There goes my foot! There goes my leg!" and so on. Finally, his head also melted.

baia' returned to his house and asked the woman [the ba'ë's sister], "Your relatives are numerous?" "Yes," she replied. "What is the drink that they like best?" "They like a drink made of wild-chocolate fruits." Then baia' said, "Wild chocolate!" and at once a great quantity of this fruit appeared.

The woman broke up the fruits and filled the jars with the beverage. Afterward he ordered her to go invite all her kin, and they arrived late that afternoon. They had human shape, but large faces and thick noses. They drank and got drunk. After midnight, baia' ordered the woman to take his youngest son to the plantation and pluck his hair, but told her to pluck the hairs out one by one.

As soon as she had gone, baia' told his two older boys to thrust their blowguns through the wall, and shut the house. Then he transported himself through the air to the place in the east where the

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[illegible] Ceremonial object of the Jaguar clan, a thick section of bamboo 3 m. long. See p. 45. [778]

sun rises and the ground glows with embers. Taking a bit of the incandescent substance, he returned to the house shortly before dawn. He threw the fire into the house, which at once burst into flames, while his two sons escaped through the bore of their blowguns. With the coming of daylight, the house and all the ba'ë in it were a heap of ashes. Then baiʼ stamped his foot on the ground, and at once the house reappeared in its old location as it was before.

Meanwhile, the ba'ë woman in the plantation was plucking the hairs of baiʼ's son, one at a time. She repeatedly tried to suck out the child's brain through the new bald spot, but baiʼ had foreseen this and had magically hardened the boy's skull. At last she finished her task and returned with the child to the house. When she arrived, she found no trace of the ba'ë. "Where are my relatives?" she inquired. "They finished all the drink and have gone off," replied baiʼ, and ordered her to sweep the house. The woman began to sweep, and soon found a charred hand in a corner. "Is this not a hand of my brother?" she asked. "No," answered baiʼ, "it is the paw of a barrigudo monkey!" Then he ordered her to wash the jars, but compelled her to fetch the water first in a strainer, then in a burden basket. At last he made a large burden basket waterproof by lining it with resin and attached a tumpline of thin tucum fiber to it. "My deceased wife," he informed the woman, "did not suspend the line from her forehead but from round her neck!" The woman followed his advice, but when she returned with the heavy basket, filled with water, the cord was almost cutting through her neck. "Help me take off this basket!" she cried. "Just stand it one more instant!" replied baiʼ, stepping behind her and jerking the cord, which cut through her neck. Her head fell to the ground.

baiʼ transformed himself into a deer and fled, pursued by the head. He arrived at a steep slope on the edge of which there was a termites' nest, which he knocked over. It rolled down the bank while he sprang to one side and concealed himself. Hearing the noise of the rolling termites' nest, the head pursued it, thinking it was baiʼ, and finally came to a halt beside it, all the while looking about attentively. baiʼ returned to the woman's body and saw that the severed neck had already grown to a finger's width. Two days later the base of the skull had formed again. Other ba'ë visited the headless body and fed it through the severed neck.

Then baiʼ again transported himself to the east to bring more of the red-hot sun mass. On his return, he tied *caiaué* palm [*Elaeis melanococca*, Gaertn.] fibers over his genitals, because all the ba'ë have very thick hair on their pubes. Perceiving his approach, the body inquired: "Are you a relative of mine?" "Yes!" "Then let me touch you!" She touched him and was convinced that it was really a ba'ë who had arrived. "Open your neck! I want to feed you!" commanded baiʼ, but as soon as she opened her gullet, he threw in some of the fiery substance, and her entire body went up in flames. With the rest of the incandescent stuff, baiʼ went to where the head lay. It had already grown a new neck and shoulders. Transformed into a small bird [pɔre'nö, see p. 38], he flew directly above the head, which was attentively glancing about, and let fall upon it the fiery substance, the incandescent sun-mass, that he held in his claws. The head of the ba'ë woman was instantly consumed by the flames.

baiʼ went to search for the bones of his wife, killed by the ba'ë, recomposed them, and stamped his foot on the ground, whereupon the woman was revived and cried out: "My husband! You have frightened me!" Henceforth they lived together again.

Two other informants gave me the name of these ba'ë as ų'kai (see pp. 126, 128).

## dyɔiʼ Transforms Deer and Anteater

In ancient times the deer was a man-eating jaguar. In order to stop his depredations, dyɔiʼ gave him a punch under the jaw that knocked the ascending rami through the top of his skull, where they appeared as antlers. Since then the deer has been inoffensive.

Another dangerous animal in the old days was the anteater, mambira [*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*; T., ɔː'rõva]. He was as agile as a barrigudo monkey in climbing and skipping about the tree limbs, so that no one could deal with him, even when he attacked and ate people,

dyɔiʼ captured the anteater, broke the creature's paws backward, and, rubbing its muzzle between the palms of his hands, squeezed it so that it became long and slender with only a tiny opening. Then he ordered the anteater to eat termites.

### dyɔi' Paints the Uaricána

dyɔi' had invented the uaricána of paxiubinha wood for the hair-plucking festival of the boy Tęku-kįra', painting it red with carajurú [*Arrabidea chica*]. One of the immortal companions, I don't know which, criticized the painting. "How should I paint it, then?" asked dyɔi'. The other explained, "At the headwaters of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo there is a high bank with clays of all colors. It is soft, but you must not touch it with your hands; remove it by thrusting your blowgun into it so that the clay sticks in the bore!" 539

That very evening the two transported themselves to the spot mentioned, where dyɔi' thrust his blowgun into all the clays of different colors, each time to the depth of a handbreadth. On returning home, he reamed the clay out with a cleaning rod, and then painted the uaricána anew.

The taboo which surrounds this instrument is concentrated in the appearance [784] of this paint.[illegible]

### The Present Status of dyɔi' and ɛ'pi

At last dyɔi' and ɛ'pi decided to part, and so they went away—dyɔi' to the west and ɛ'pi to the east. But dyɔi' could not readily find the west, and at night he secretly reversed the earth so that ɛ'pi remained in the west, while he himself remained in the east. No one ever saw dyɔi' again.

A long time ago a Tukuna journeyed to the rising sun, where he arrived at dyɔi''s house. He entered but did not succeed in seeing dyɔi'. Wherever he looked he saw only his own image, because the walls of the house were made of mirrors. dyɔi' sent word for him to go back, since he did not want to see him nor did he wish to be sought out.

Probably this tale has as its underlying basis the visit of some Indian in the [177] mirrored salon of some governmental palace where he was denied the audience requested of the governor.

*Version collected in 1929.*—In connection with the tale related above "Captain" Felix in 1929 brought to my attention the following episode.

Later, the two brothers began to quarrel and argue over the division of the world, disputing which of them should receive the east and which the west. ipi demanded absolutely that he should go down the Solimões (east) and left for that region with his followers; but while he slept, dyoi' turned the world about so that ipi and his people remained in the west, whereas dyoi' and his people remained in the east, as he had wished. dyoi' lives in the land of the rising sun, beyond the the sea, in a place called mu'ruapi. ngutapa and töĕarlui are with him, also, but no mortal can ever reach there. In ancient times a few came close enough to see mu'ruapi from afar, but when they came nearer, everything turned into flowering bushes.

On the left bank of the upper Igarapé de São Jeronymo, almost two days' canoe 773 trip above the farthest Tukuna settlement, there is a very old plantation. Calixto 778 daueru'kį used to call this place bʊ-ë (from bʊ, child) because it was believed to have once been the dwelling of ńʊ'/tapa, where dyɔi', ɛ'pi, and their sisters appeared in this world. Generally, however, the Tukuna call this plantation taivɛgį'ne, which was the name of dyɔi''s house. According to the Tukuna, one may still see there the remains of very ancient posts belonging to the house and to the fence with the platform upon which the brothers waited for the jaguar that had devoured ńʊ'/tapa.

The place where the two caught the giant caiman was also pointed out to me. Not far above this spot the Igarapé vɔrẽ-kį ("Girl Creek") empties from the right. There in ancient times the celebrants of a puberty ceremony once took the virgin to her bath after the depilation, as was the custom. When she dived into the

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[illegible] See legend, "tɔɔ'ẽn and the Breaking of the Uaricána Taboo."

773 shallow water she disappeared forever without a trace. No one ever learned what became of her; undoubtedly the immortals carried her off.

778 Another girl, at the close of her puberty celebration, declared that she wished to move away from where her parents lived because there she felt a weight pressing on her head. They moved with her to a mountain range where they entered the underworld, but the girl declared that that did not suit her either. Accordingly, they left for dyɔi′'s abandoned plantation and entered the house through the floor, just as if they were crawling in beneath a mosquito bar. The girl thought it pretty and asserted that she was satisfied since she no longer felt the weight on her head. She is still there today with her festive companions.

Below taivegi̦′ne there also empties from the right the Igarapé ẽ′varẽ. At its source stands ɛ′pi's house, which bears the name of dẽ:i. There tę̆ku-ki̦ra′, son of ɛ′pi, still lives today in the company of many other immortals. Sometimes on a night of full moon one may hear, very far off but yet clearly, the sounds of their merrymaking, but no one ever succeeds in reaching the place. An old Tukuna named Miguel, who for many years was the last inhabitant of Igarapé de São Jeronymo, attempted it once, but in vain. After Miguel another Indian I knew, Cazemiro, tried it again but got drunk, lost his bearings, and finally returned. The Indians are convinced that the immortals will punish with madness anyone who dares to break the taboo of this creek. They believe that dyɔi′ and ɛ′pi left the hook, with which they angled for the first men, in the water back at the mouth of the ẽ′varẽ; there it was transformed into snakes and rays which guard the entrance. The mouth is now overgrown with vegetation.

## The Origin of Old Age and Death

773 This first race of men which dyɔi′ and ɛ′pi fished for is called ma:′/gi̦ta (from ma:′gi̦, "to throw something from the tip of an elastic wand," and ta, plural suffix) or i̦i̦′ne (the immortals). They do not die as we do; their descendants, the yuna′ti̦ (mortals), however, live even today in an enchanted state in the region where they were created, or far away to the east with dyɔi′.

> 539 The difference [between the immortals and mortal men] arose in ancient times through the error of a girl who was in seclusion for her puberty festival at the time when dyɔi′, in the company of the immortals, called for everyone to follow him. The girl did not answer, but shortly after, when the spirit dya: [Old Age] was announcing his coming with shouts of "Vavi′-vavi′-vavi′! eu$^{n}$i$^{n}$ dya: ʊ:!" she responded, "May dya: come!" dya: entered her cell and, pulling at his hair, stripped off his own skin. Then he took off the girl's skin in the same way and exchanged them. He himself was transformed into a youth, and went off, whistling on his fingers. The girl remained an old, decrepit woman, without strength even to stand up.
>
> Very early in the morning her mother called her, "Daughter! Sweep your cell!" She obeyed, sitting on the floor and slowly pushing before her the ançahy-leaf container holding the rubbish. The mother urged her to hurry and finish the chore before the inhabitants of the house should awaken. At last the mother peered into the little room and saw in place of the girl an old crone with a wrinkled skin. The festival was called off, and since then men grow old and die.

There is another story of a vɔrẽ-ki̦ who responds to the immortals' call:

## The Origin of the Lunar Aureole

> A virgin was in her seclusion cell. Suddenly, she heard immortals entering the house, walking without touching the ground with their feet, and calling, "Vavi′-vavi′-vavi′! eu$^{n}$i$^{n}$ i̦i̦′ne ʊ:!" She

immediately answered that she wished to become immortal also. Her puberty festival was being 539 celebrated simultaneously with a child's hair-plucking ceremony. Among the guests was also a girl betrothed to mëta'rë.[illegible] However, she disliked him because he would eat only tree fungi (orelhas de pau). She was enamored of i"/tavečine[illegible] and chased after him wherever he went.

The host called everyone inside to witness the beginning of the virgin's depilation. Only i"/tavečine and his paramour remained outside, painting each other with genipapo dye. She merely entered the house for an instant, drank some paiauaru, and rejoined her lover. mëta'rë, standing next to the jars containing the beverage, saw her, and said under her breath, "You may go!" The vɔrëkį' and the other celebrants were seated on top of the tapir hide in the center of the house. The turtleshell drum was sounding, and the guests were dancing. Suddenly the tapir hide began to move, rising into the air. mëta'rë climbed up on the roof to reach it also, but he was too late.

The two lovers outside noticed nothing of what was taking place until suddenly the girl said to i"/tavečine, "Listen! The drums are sounding up above!" Lifting her eyes, she saw the celebrants of the festival on the tapir hide already far up in the sky. Weeping, she called to her mother and brothers, who were also on the hide. The brothers threw her the end of a thin liana with a transverse piece of wood lashed to it, commanding her to put her feet on this and hold the liana with her eyes shut. She obeyed, and they began to pull her up to join them. There was only a short distance to go to reach the hide, when she opened her eyes and, seeing how thin the liana was, exclaimed, "The liana is going to break!" Instantly it broke, and she fell to the ground, at once turning into a bird called mai"yu, and flying away to cry forever "mai"! mai"!" ("Brother.") Even today she may be heard thus calling her brother. i"/tavečine also was transformed into a small hawk, and flew off.

mëta'rë broke the jars, and the paiauaru, which was full of worms, spilled upon the ground. Ants and all other creatures that shed their skins licked it up, and for this reason they never grow old. Afterward, mëta'rë turned into a bird [japú] and flew after the others to the upper world. The tapir hide and the celebrants of the festival seated upon it may still be seen today when the moon has a ring around it.[illegible]

According to another version the lovers and the guests at the festival are visible 773 in the Pleiades. [821]

In the old days whoever wished to become immortal submitted to a diet of maize and Coleoptera larvae and, when he bathed, rubbed his entire body with burity fruits. Then one day in the jungle he would meet an unknown boy who would bid him prepare for a feast on such and such a day. On the appointed day, in the afternoon, aquatic birds of all species would appear and perch in the trees near the house. At nightfall the dance would begin inside the sealed house. Some time later an immortal in human form would knock at the door. They must let him enter and conduct him to the jars, where he would give the host a small gourd containing the immortals' drink, yita'kį čįį, which must be mixed in with the festive beer (chicha), because to become one of the immortals one must partake of their beverage.

At dawn all the immortals would enter, dance, drink, and choose consorts, the unmarried mortals doing the same; sometimes even married couples would separate in order to join the immortals. At daybreak the spirits, while dancing, would conduct all the celebrants outside the house, and after some fifteen paces would command them to close their eyes. When they opened them again, they would already be far away in the abode of the immortals.

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[illegible] Identified in the lingua geral with Jabotí or Tortoise of the legends. [136]

[illegible] A small, red-legged falconid which feeds on small birds.

[illegible] Other exploits of mëta'rë are related in the legends, "mëta'rë and ɔ'vįkįna," "mëta'rë and vai"či'kį," and "mëta'rë and tu'čuru."

539 A typical episode is related in the following legend.[illegible]

### dyu$^{a}$-a'čikį

The wife of dyu$^{a}$-a'čikį died. Then he went to look for the immortals. The people went to see his dwelling; they searched for him. He saw them. At once this irritated him. He went to another place. There he made another plantation. Then his daughter attained puberty. He constructed her seclusion cell and left her there.

Then a small bird appeared before her. He held [in his beak] a grain of maize. She tried in vain to take it from him; he did not give it to her. She told her father. "Hold your tongue, dear one," he said. "This is an immortal!" Then the immortal again appeared. He gave her the grain of maize. The father planted it. His maize ripened. Then he began his [daughter's] puberty festival. He concluded it. He alone removed her [from seclusion] and sang with her. "Oh, what did you do, dear one," he said to his daughter, "that he [the immortal] gives no sign?" Then dyu$^{a}$-a'čikį grew very tired. He fell asleep. The daughter sat next to him in the hammock. Then, in spite of himself, dyu$^{a}$-a'čikį was awakened by those [the immortals] who had already entered. This made him really very happy. He looked at his daughter; she was already seated in the hammock with her husband.

Then he called everyone. They led her outside and round the house. They they reëntered. They gave dyu$^{a}$-a'čikį a wife [immortal]. Then they took them [outside]. They made them close their eyes. When they looked [again] they were already in a different land [that is, the immortals' country].

According to this version the miracle was accomplished because the immortals' maize brought by the little bird and planted by dyu$^{a}$-a'čikį was mixed with the ordinary maize from which he made the festive beer (chicha) that he and his daughter drank.

### The Girl Carried Away by the Immortal

The puberty festival was drawing to a close. The virgin's uncle, his wife, and several women of related clans led her to the river for her bath, but the uncle was then so drunk that he could no longer perform the ceremony properly. His wife was still at the girl's side when a youth appeared in the form of a tapir. He was one of the immortals who had remained in the vicinity of the ancient dwelling of dyɔi' after dyɔi' had left with his companions. He carried off the girl and married her.

Much later she reappeared to her mother in the plantation. She brought her son with her in a carrying sling. She told her mother that she had been living among the immortals and asked if her mother would brew an especially strong drink (paiauará) for the hair-plucking ceremony of her younger brother. Her parents compiled with her wishes, and she came to the celebration with her husband. He brought a little of the immortals' beverage. He filled a tiny gourd and gave each of the celebrants a sip. All got drunk and in this condition went away with the married couple to the dwelling of the immortals in Igarapé ẽ'varẽ.

## MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS

668
771 Messianic movements are based collectively on four principal features of Tukuna religion: (1) the personality of dyɔi', the creator and founder of tribal culture; (2) the feeling of having offended him by the corruption of the primitive spiritual (not material!) culture owing to influences of civilization; (3) the possibility of the repetition of the cataclysms of ancient times; (4) the existence of the immortals and their tendency to appear to persons at the age of puberty.

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[illegible] Literal translation of the original Tukuna text.

Customarily, these manifestations are the following. A boy, or a girl in seclusion, 668
begins to have repeated visions during which he or she converses with the maː'-gɨta 771
(p. 135), who sometimes conduct the young person's soul temporarily to their
dwelling. From these immortals the visionary learns of the imminence of a cata- 787
clysm that will destroy the *civilizados*, and of the means by which the Indians 648
may survive the disaster. Escape generally depends on their assembling in some indicated spot sheltered from the catastrophe, and on the performance of certain ceremonies. However, as soon as this assembly takes place, the Neobrazilians, judging the Indians by themselves, fear a revolt and with more or less brutality intervene to crush the movement. Such interference, however, does not prevent its resurgence at more or less lengthy intervals, as long as the four features cited above remain in vigor.

Thus the Tukuna told me that forty or fifty years ago the prophecies of a girl 668
in Peruvian territory resulted in a gathering of Indians from both Peru and 792
Brazil. One day Neobrazilians surrounded the assembly and attacked it with fire-
arms, killed some Indians, thrashed the rest, and carried off the girl prophetess 787
to an unknown fate. 648

Some ten years ago a young Indian named Aureliano, of Cuyarú on the Rio Jacurapá, began to experience visions. They made him a house set aside from the others, where he remained alone to receive the revelations of the immortals. Since the conduct of the assembled Indians offered not the slightest excuse for intervention on the part of the *civilizados*, they finally arrested Aureliano for failure to pay taxes on guitars and fiddles he had made.

*The seer of São Jeronymo.*—I am a little better informed on the last movement 792
of this nature, which took place in January, 1941, two months before my second 668
visit to the Tukuna.
787

In a spacious house on solid ground on the left bank of Igarapé de São Jeronymo lives the Indian José Nonato with his wife, daughter, and four sons. In order to reach the house from the bank of the igarapé it is necessary to cross over almost a kilometer of igapó. Parents and children appear to be pure-blooded Indians, the woman belonging to the Mutum clan, the father and children to the Muirapiranga clan. None of the family speaks even the most elementary Portuguese. All exhibit the Tukuna physical type, at best very coarse, in its crudest form. Only the second son, ṅɔra'ne, is distinguished from the rest by his slightly more attractive features and a more intelligent look. In 1940 he was about thirteen or fourteen years old. When I saw him, I observed no pathological signs.

As 1940 wore on, the lad suddenly began to have visions. While he was fishing in his little canoe near the edge of the igapó, some distance away from the house, a white man appeared to him. (Later the lad repeatedly affirmed that the man looked just like me!) Seated alone in a canoe, the stranger approached the boy, sprang ashore, and began to talk to him, asking if he had caught anything. When ṅɔra'ne said yes, the man asked for the catch, and left in his canoe, promising to meet ṅɔra'ne at the same spot three days hence.

The boy returned home, where his changed demeanor aroused the attention of his parents and siblings: the merry youth had suddenly grown serious and taciturn. His mother extracted the confession that he had seen an immortal. She

792 787 668 scolded the boy, saying that this business of seeing an immortal was a lie, and what he had seen was probably a demon (ṅɔɔ'). But three days later, ṅɔra'ne again met the apparition at the spot, as arranged. This time the visitant promised that on the following day he would visit the boy at his parents' house. In fact, the boy did catch sight of his figure the next day at the edge of the jungle surrounding the house and, springing up, at once ran off to meet him. His parents and siblings, who had been watching suspiciously, thought the boy insane, and ran after him to catch him, but ṅɔra'ne disappeared in the jungle, and in spite of a careful search they failed to find him.

Three days later he suddenly appeared of his own accord. He declared that the son of ɛ'pi, tęku-kɨra' (ṅɔra'ne always referred to him as ta-na'tɨ, "Our Father!") had taken him far up the igarapé to his house on ë'varë Creek, where he dwelt with the immortals in possession of all the blessings of civilization. ta-na'tɨ charged him to tell the Tukuna the following: Everyone should assemble at the site of dyɔi''s abandoned house, taivegɨ'ne, clear a big plantation, and erect a large house in the old style for celebrating certain festivals. Afterward, a huge flood would come and annihilate all the *civilizados*, but the Tukuna at taivegɨ'ne would be spared.

Then, a kinsman of José Nonato went up to the igarapé to find the place described by ṅɔra'ne, but failed. At last José Nonato communicated the message to the other Indians of the igarapé, and most of them obeyed the instructions with the utmost alacrity. José Nonato's family was the first to move to taivegɨ'ne, while the others were still manufacturing the necessary farinha for the projected move.

According to the opinion of many, this premature departure of Nonato was an error; he should have waited until all were ready. By January, 1941, most of the Indians from Igarapé de São Jeronymo were assembled at taivegɨ'ne. Since José Nonato himself had not the slightest authority in religious matters, an old shaman named Julião assumed command, but evidently his ability to direct such a movement was also deficient. Immediately a very extensive clearing was made with admirable speed, but the construction of the great house met with difficulty since no one possessed the requisite technical knowledge.

Meanwhile, the patrão of the Tukuna at Igarapé de São Jeronymo, Senhor 668 648 792 787 Quirino Maffra of Perpetuo Socorro on the banks of the Solimões, got wind of the movement and immediately realized that, even if the religious part of the movement failed, the success of the economic and social aspects of the program alone would result in his losing the services of the Indians for his own purposes and, consequently, his control over them. In order to forestall this economic threat, he traveled to the Indians' gathering place, ridiculed the prophecies as absurd lies, and threatened to deport ṅɔra'ne to Rio de Janeiro and to have the government annihilate the assembled Indians by aerial bombardment. (The Tukuna knew of aerial warfare from the Leticia territorial dispute between Peru and Colombia in 1933.) At the same time ta-na'tɨ announced through ṅɔra'ne that he was withdrawing his aid from the Indians gathered at taivegɨ'ne because one of them had committed incest—that is, had broken the exogamic moiety restrictions—with one of Julião's daughters. As a result, the Indians returned home, each one to his old dwelling place, and for the time being the movement was a failure.

ṅɔra'ne continued to have visions from time to time, almost exclusively of the 792 feasts which ta-na'tɨ and his companions celebrated at Igarapé ẽ'varẽ, which were 668 apparently carried out in the fashion of rich *civilizados*, with roasted oxen to eat, and so on. In his visions he also encountered me several times, since I was among 787 ta-na'tɨ's companions. Since I always treated ṅɔra'ne kindly, giving him several [123] small presents, he grew greatly attached to me and was unable to conceal his delight in my company, embracing me and following me about wherever I might go. ṅɔra'ne spoke not a word of Portuguese; he told his revelations preferably to several women and girls related to him, from whom I in turn heard them.

### THE TUKUNA RELIGION AND THE NEOBRAZILIANS

The Indians will give absolutely no explanation of their religion to the Neobraziliana, 771 especially to the priests. To satisfy importunate interrogators they usually 609 affirm belief in "tupana" (l.g. for "god" or "saint") and fear of the "yurupari'" (l.g. for "devil"), but they reveal nothing about dyɔi' or ta-ẽ' or about their animistic beliefs. References in the literature, from Ribeiro de Sampaio in 1884 to [114] Tessmann, are proof of this: there is always apparent the pretense of a belief in Christianity without any basis in fact. The Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis has for several years been making praiseworthy efforts to learn something of the native religion. Until 1941, at least, he had learned nothing—nor had the Tukuna learned anything from him. They treat him well; they like him for his simple and affable ways but are secretly convinced, in spite of everything, that he can be only an enemy of their religious traditions; hence they continue to pull his leg with yarns of tupa'na and the yurupari'.

To illustrate the extent of Tukuna pretense of Christianity I might mention 771 only that, at a puberty ceremony, I saw on a masquerader, and afterward acquired, 177 a mask of tɔɨ' that sported the miter, cross, and reddish beard (imitated by hair of a squirrel's tail) of the prelate of São Paulo de Olivença. I also saw another 292 demon masquerader who brandished as a dance staff a cross that could have come only from some Christian grave.

# X. VARIOUS LEGENDS

## LEGENDS OF CATACLYSMS

773 THE BELIEF in dyoi', ə'pi, and the immortals is in a way associated with the idea of cataclysms, past and future, and of the Mountains of Salvation, vaipɨ' or pa:'rʊ.

### World Fire and Deluge

539 This happened after dyoi' and his companions had left for the east. The earth began to move in the west, and at once men began to die. Fire burst forth from the ground and came steadily nearer; one could hear its roaring. The immortals, and with them those who had answered their call, thus becoming immortal, left for Mount vaipɨ', which they say is below Manáos, I don't know exactly where. The slopes of this mountain constantly drip water [na-va'i, it is wet], so the world fire did not reach it.

In the west a girl with her little sister had been left alone in the seclusion cell. When the earth moved, only their room stayed firm, and, while all the others lay dying, the two sisters remained alive. They climbed a tall genipapo tree at the edge of the house yard, covering their faces with wild-chocolate hulls to protect them from the smoke. When they removed the hulls a little, they saw all around them the charred trees of the once-virgin jungle sinking below the earth, which had become completely soft.

In the immediate vicinity of the house, however, everything remained as it had been. Finally the fire burned out. For months the two sisters ate maize that had been stored in the house. Then the *camapú* [*Physalis* sp.] began to appear and produced fruit at the edge of the clearing; the two sisters gathered and ate the berries. While thus engaged, the younger sister went too far astray and sank beneath the still-soft earth; behind her, flames and smoke sprang up. The elder sister was now all alone and wept despondently. Then she heard a noise: it was the water, which, bursting forth from the ground and rapidly increasing, flooded everything.

A large blue butterfly [*Morphos menelaus*] came to the girl, saying that surely she must also die now. But, through magic he made the girl's body light[1] and then ordered her to hold on to his abdomen while he attempted to fly with her. But she failed to do so, and the flood was already entering the house. Then the butterfly commanded the girl, painted red with urucú, to imitate the motions of the dragonfly in flight; and so with the butterfly's assistance she at last managed to fly away and escape to where dyoi' lived. When the deluge reached Mount vaipɨ', the mountain, with the immortals' dwelling on its top, grew in height so that they were preserved from the waters.

### The Deluge

An Indian once owned a dog. One day the animal began to speak in the human language, saying that there would be a great flood; that he, the dog, was going to Mount vaipɨ' and his master had better accompany him if he wished to save himself. The master, however, did not wish to go, for he did not know where the dog was going to lead him. Then the animal advised him to have a great canoe ready to save himself and his family in the hour of the flood. So saying, the dog departed for vaipɨ'.

The waters burst boiling out of the earth and flooded the entire surface. The Indian and his family embarked in the canoe that had been prepared and moored to a tree by a very long liana. However, the waters steadily rose, and the current pulled the canoe this way and that, so that they were obliged to lengthen the liana repeatedly and had by then long lost track of where they were. But finally they landed on Mount vaipɨ', where they remained until the waters subsided. They abandoned their canoe on the mountain—where, it is said, it may still be seen today—and, guided by the lengthened vine, returned to their former home.

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177 The canoe on Mount vaipɨ' is obviously an element from Christian mythology and apparently is the only Christian motif in the Tukuna cataclysmic mythology.

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[1] See the legend of čimɨdyuə', pp. 148 ff.

since even the dove motif, which so easily penetrates foreign mythologies, is not 773
found in the Tukuna legends. [177]

## LEGENDS OF CELESTIAL BODIES AND RELATED PHENOMENA

*The sun.*—The slight importance the Indians attach to celestial bodies is worthy 773
of note. Of the sun they told me that it was hot to the point of charring anyone 821
who approached it, and that its headdress was a crown of red macaw tail feathers similar to that used today by a virgin at her puberty festival. I have seen the sun represented in this fashion three times, by a mask with a face carved in wood and with human, not demoniacal, features. There is a legend called "The Canoe of the Sun" (ɨakɨ'-ve'i-ñ), but, try as I might, I did not succeed in recording more than a fragment. There is no longer anyone who can recite the entire story.

### The Canoe of the Sun

A solitary youth was fishing when the Sun arrived in a canoe and asked him if he had caught 539
anything. The boy answering in the negative, the Sun invited him to join him, since they should have caught something by this time. The youth sat in the prow while the Sun steered. The Sun asked him which was the "Pathway of the Sun." Thus the youth realized that he was in the Sun's company, although the Sun had made the boy insensible to the heat. They paddled along. The boy thought that they were still paddling down here [on the earth] but they were already up there [in the sky]. A pirarucú this long [1 m.] appeared. The Sun seized the fish, threw it into the canoe, and baked it with his heat.

Some time later they halted in order to eat lunch in the canoe. The youth finished his share first. The Sun invited him to eat more, but the boy was obliged to decline with thanks. The Sun ordered him to bend his head forward, and then slapped him on the back of the head. At once a great number of cockroaches fell out of the boy. "That was the reason that you felt stuffed," said the Sun. The boy regained his appetite. They ate the entire fish. The Sun collected the scales and bones, put the fish together again, and threw it alive into the water.

The shaman Geraldo sent the soul of the murdered sorcerer ʊ'irʊ to the "Canoe [775]
of the Sun" to be burned.

*The moon and stars.*—Lunar eclipses are caused by the moon's meeting the demon 821
vęⁿkɨča of the Jaguar clan, who battles with her. The word "vęⁿkɨča" is used for a 773
hook made of a special wood in the form of an N, from which household implements
(especially kitchen utensils) are suspended. The vęⁿkɨča of the heavens is Orion. 789
The story of the terrestrial vęⁿkɨča and the incident which justifies his name of "hook" is related in the legend of čimɨdyuẽ' (pp. 148 ff.). If the jaguar in the eclipse should kill the moon, mankind would die; for this reason it is necessary that people aid the moon, scaring away her adversary with as much noise as possible.

I myself witnessed an attempt of this sort during the eclipse of August 25 and 26, 1942. As soon as the Indians were aware of the phenomenon—directly after the eclipse began—an alarm broke out that spread from house to house, up and down the igarapé, reaching to the inhabitants of the banks of the Solimões. Some beat with paddles on the keels of overturned, beached canoes; others belabored with the backs of their machetes a large plank resting on a support; others shot off firearms. Nino ęvẽnɨⁿkɨ, in whose house I was staying, seriously explained to his children what was taking place. The noise continued until the moon was completely free of the earth's shadow.

## The Spots on the Moon

539 In one of the large malocas in the old days there lived, among other persons, a boy with his sister. At night the youth secretly crept to his sister's hammock and had intercourse with her. [The houses were tightly sealed at night because of mosquitoes and therefore were completely dark.] She slept so soundly that she was unaware of anything; only in the morning did she realize what had happened because her sexual organs were moist. The following night she tried to stay awake, but failed, and the same thing happened to her as on the preceding night. At last she became pregnant and had a son. As was the custom, she grated genipapo to paint the child black, and at night placed the pot containing the dye next to her hammock.

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[322]

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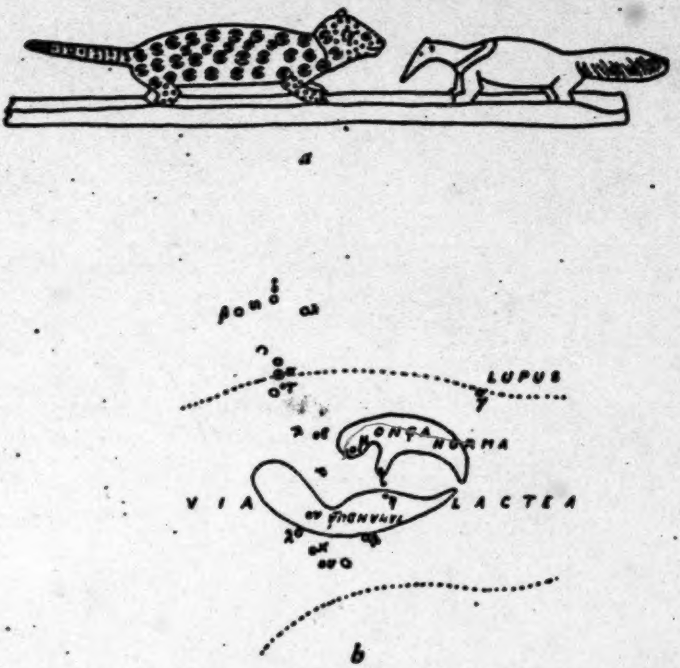

Fig. 13. Jaguar and anteater. *a*. Carved figures on a dance staff, × ⅔. *b*. Constellation.

When in the darkness her brother came again to lie with her, she thrust her hand into the dye and rubbed it over his face. He recognized the genipapo from its odor and immediately made off to the edge of the jungle, where he picked leaves to wipe his face. As soon as he threw away a soiled leaf it turned into a forest turkey, an *anum* [*Crotophaga minor*, Gm.], or some other black-colored bird. Then he went to the creek and washed his face. For this reason the Igarapé de São Jeronymo is black even to this day. He was never again seen by anyone, but went up to the sky, where he became the moon.

## Jaguar and Anteater

The jaguar once met the great banded anteater [*tamanduá bandeira*] and said, "My strength is in my teeth and claws. Where is yours?" Replied the anteater, "In my arms and claws." "And where is your heart?" again inquired the jaguar. "In my arm," was the reply. The two fought.

The jaguar bit and clawed the anteater's arm, but the latter did not die of the wounds. "Are you sure that your heart is in your arm?" asked the jaguar finally. "Certainly," answered the anteater, "and where is your heart?" "In my breast," the jaguar admitted. Hearing this, the anteater tore open the jaguar's chest with his claws and killed him. Then with his long tongue he sucked out the jaguar's liver. 539

On clear nights one may still see starred in the sky the fight between the two, and the anteater's final victory. The bodies of the two contestants are formed by two black rifts ("Coalsack") in the Milky Way, in the constellations of Scorpius and the Southern Cross. The double star of the first forms the jaguar's eyes. When the constellation becomes visible, the anteater is lying on its back; while the jaguar is standing over it; afterward the shapes of the two animals rise and, when the constellation sets, the jaguar is on its back under the anteater (fig. 13). 773 821

*Other beliefs.*—The shooting stars are chasing after their sweethearts. It is well not to speak of them, or one might do the same thing. Children should not speak of moving clouds because they might be kidnaped by them. If a cloud in human shape lowers its head toward the observer, that person will soon die.

## LEGENDS OF DEMONS AND MONSTERS

### The Monster ñaiva'

In the old days, in a battle between the Tukuna and the Omágua near Igarapé de São Jeronymo, an Omágua shaman named ñaiva' was gravely wounded but succeeded in escaping and hid himself beneath the bank. When the other Omágua departed, he was left behind, and he lived for a long time in a subterranean lair called vai'pị, the entrance of which was under the water. It had a tall, hollow paxiuba-palm trunk for a chimney, so that no one in the jungle could spot the smoke from his fire. This place was next to an old cemetery on the right bank of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, just below the mouth of Igarapé a:'ru-pana. When the Tukuna children bathed and played in the creek, ñaiva' would sneak toward them under the water, pierce them with his lance, and carry the children off to his lair to devour them. Once, a man was watching the children bathe; suddenly, in the still water he saw ñaiva' emerge from his cave, kill the children, and drag them inside. He at once called together all the inhabitants of the vicinity. They barred the cave's exit with stakes, and ñaiva' died of starvation in his lair. At first, however, they could hear him screaming, "ku čëči'! ku čëči'!" ["I shall kill you!"]; then he died. When they opened the cave they found it full of children's bones. 539

### mëta'rë and ɔ'vịkịna

The sorcerer dö'vẽnõ fed himself by plucking out men's eyes at night and eating them. He also ate the eyes of a woman in the last stages of pregnancy who lived by herself. When the blind woman felt the first pangs of childbirth, ɔ'vịkịna heard her screams. ɔ'vịkịna had a great number of daughters of all ages, but not one son. She ran to the side of the parturient, without the other woman's being aware of it, and awaited the birth. As soon as the child was born, the sightless mother felt its body and verified that it was a boy. When she laid him down beside her, ɔ'vịkịna stole him, substituting her youngest daughter. When the blind woman again picked up her newborn child, she realized that it was a girl and was greatly astonished. ɔ'vịkịna carried the boy away. She dropped medicine of the dë'gịne plant in his eyes and rubbed him with it. Thus he became immortal and grew up to be very wise.

He was already the size of an ordinary child of seven when, one day, wishing ɔ'vịkịna to give him his treatment, he peeped through his fingers, with which she had ordered him to cover his eyes, and saw her behind the house post making gestures as if separating something. She removed from the interior of the post a little pot containing the dë'gịne. One of her daughters had already told him that ɔ'vịkịna was not his mother and where his real mother could be found. By the same motions ɔ'vịkịna had used he managed to open the post also. He removed the little pot, turned into a bird, a japú, and took the pot to the place where his mother was. He perched on an abiü tree in the house yard and sang. The blind woman thought, "Perhaps the japú has already knocked down some fruit!" and went over under the tree, feeling the ground. The japú sang again, and the blind woman said, "If you were only human, you would knock down some fruit for me!" The japú sang, "Raise your eyes!" The sightless woman lifted her head and he dropped a little of the dë'gịne medicine into her eye sockets, whereupon she at once regained her sight.

ɔ'vịkịna was furious at her daughters when she learned what had happened. She took about ten of them, put them in the mortar [ta:'ta], pounded them up, and threw them into the river. This is the origin of the holes in the clay slope on the left bank of the Solimões, just above the settlement of Santa Rita. Afterward they were transformed into small fish [acarís] and crabs.

## mëta'rë and vaiⁿči'kị[2]

Everyone thought vaiⁿči'kị's daughter very pretty. Various men slept with her, for she refused no one, but vaiⁿči'kị always ate his sons-in-law. Finally they put a stop to this. "He will destroy us!" said mëta'rë. "Let him now give to me, too, his daughter in marriage!" And he asked for the daughter of vaiⁿči'kị, who gave her to the suitor, for he refused no one. Happy, vaiⁿči'kị ordered his daughter, "Go, my dear, grind some maize to make pamonhas [maize cakes] for something to eat along the way when I and my son-in-law go tomorrow to gather patauá."

At daybreak the next morning he went with his son-in-law to gather patauá. When they arrived at the foot [of the tree] he ordered mëta'rë to bring back a liana, and said to him, "Do not go there [ahead] because there are many fire ants!" So said vaiⁿči'kị. He assented, but ran off, making a big circle and returning. Then he saw a great place with human bones, the bones of those who had married [vaiⁿči'kị's daughter] first and before him had taken her to wife. mëta'rë ran back and brought the liana. "Go, climb up, my son-in-law!" said vaiⁿči'kị, "and hang the liana round your neck!" mëta'rë climbed up, and he [vaiⁿči'kị] asked several times, "Have you hung the liana round your neck yet?" and mëta'rë always answered, "Yes!"

When he had finally reached a bunch of patauá, vaiⁿči'kị asked him again, "Have you hung the liana round your neck yet?" "Yes!" replied mëta'rë, who had hung it, not from his neck, but from [the top of] his head. Then vaiⁿči'kị jerked the liana [to pull him down from the tree], but mëta'rë, being immortal, crouched [the line slipped off], and [he] flew away in the form of a japú. Like over there [pointing] he perched on a tree limb and sang, "Búruru! [song of the japú] I have you in my sight!" [By the song and his thoughts mëta'rë was enchanting vaiⁿči'kị]. Involuntarily, he [vaiⁿči'kị] looked at his own leg and said, "Oh, if I haven't got something savory here [to eat]!"

He cut himself lightly, then blew, and it [the wound] healed immediately. Again he cut himself lightly. Then he cut all at once and blew, and it healed directly, and he ate [the flesh of his own leg]. Then he eyed his other leg and said, "Oh, if I haven't got something savory here!" Again he cut a piece from the other leg and blew; it healed at once and he ate. Afterward he looked down at his own belly and said, "Oh, if I haven't got something savory here!" He cut off a piece, blew again, and it healed at once. Then he looked at his own belly again and said, "Oh, if I haven't got a maize cake here and nothing to eat with it!" Then he cut out his belly all at once and gobbled it up. Then he tried blowing. In vain, it did not heal.

Then mëta'rë took advantage of the situation and ran to fetch some of the red-hot substance from the sky [p. 133]. He returned and threw the glowing mass on him [vaiⁿči'kị]. He boiled [violently, finishing slowly]. The next day he [mëta'rë] went to look. At the spot there were bamboo sprouts, which he cut. The following day he went back again, and there were more bamboo shoots; again he cut them. At last he spent a whole month constantly cutting bamboo sprouts. Finally, he grew irritated with the never-ending task, and he left off in order to celebrate a feast. On another feast day he went to look; then all the bamboo burst apart in his presence. They burst because the Omágua were there inside them.

## mëta'rë and the Bedbug tʊ'čuru

mëta'rë married the daughter of the bedbug tʊ'čuru, who during the day had human form but at night assumed the shape of a bedbug this big [1 m.], who sucked people. tʊ'čuru married off his daughter, but during the night he would kill his sons-in-law. mẽta'rẽ asked for the daughter in marriage. tʊ'čura handed her over, and at night the couple slept together in a hammock in the darkened house. When the girl had fallen asleep, mẽta'rẽ exchanged his own sexual organs for hers. At midnight tʊ'čura stealthily approached the hammock and felt mẽta'rẽ's genitals. "This is my daughter," he said. "She has a vulva!" Then he felt his daughter's, thinking that this was mẽta'rẽ; he sat under the hammock and sucked at her. mẽta'rẽ watched her gradually become more flaccid and empty.

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[2] Literal translation from the original Tukuna text.

Then tʊ'čura remained beneath the hammock, so bloated that he could no longer get up. At daybreak he said, "My daughter, get up and hang my son-in-law's skin from the rafter!" Four times he repeated the request, but no one answered. Suspicious, he got up heavily, looked inside the hammock, and realized that he had sucked his own daughter. mẽta'rẽ, however, turned into a japé, flew up, and sat on the ridgepole of the house. tʊ'čura wept for hours over his daughter's death. Then with great effort he climbed up one of the house posts below the roof thatch next to where mẽta'rẽ was sitting, in order to suck him. He did not succeed, however, since the japé's feet were small and delicate, enabling it to change position easily. Finally mẽta'rẽ pecked through the straw of the roof thatch and put out his [tʊ'čura's] eyes. tʊ'čura fell; as his belly struck the ground it burst, and he died.[5]

## The One-legged Man

Two brothers were hunting in the jungle in order to collect the necessary meat for a feast. They had already a lot of game on the smoking-grill. One day while walking through the forest they came to a cleared spot beneath a tree where there was a leaf container made of sauhy, and in it a quarter of roast pig and a few cooked yams. The first brother passed it by, but the second halted. "Do not touch it!" cried the elder brother. "Surely it must belong to some demon [ŋo']." But the other, letting his brother go forward a few paces, secretly filched a yam and ate it.

"By any chance did you eat the demon's food?" asked his brother. "No," the younger replied, "I only looked at it!" That night they were sleeping in their shelter. Suddenly the one who had rejected the food heard a ba'ẽ [demon] coming through the jungle, shouting, "Where is my food?" And the yam in the belly of the other, who still slept, cried out, "I am here!" In vain the elder brother tried to wake the younger, who continued to sleep even though he was poked with a blazing resinous torch. Then the elder hid beneath the ridgepole of the shelter. The ba'ẽ arrived, cut open the door of the shelter with his nails, which were as sharp as knives, and in the same way cut off a leg of the sleeper, threw it over his shoulder, and disappeared.

Only a long time afterward did the sleeper awake, and then he cried, "My brother, the bats have eaten my leg!" "No," answered the first. "It was the owner of the yam that you ate!" He took his brother on his back and carried him through the jungle to a tree called gɔ'tįne [l.g., *uequy* ?] He salved the wound with the juice of this tree, placed both hands on the tree trunk, and danced all round the tree in this position with his brother on his back, singing "gɔ'tįne, make my brother's leg grow again!" Then he carried him to the foot of another gɔ'tįne tree, where he repeated the same performance, continuing this treatment for several weeks. The leg slowly began to regenerate and soon had grown to just below the knee.

The elder brother's wife waited vainly at home for the return of her husband and brother-in-law. The date set for the feast had already passed, and they still had not returned. She became exceedingly vexed and finally went into the jungle to search for them. She met her husband with his brother on his back, still dancing round a gɔ'tįne tree. Enraged, she pushed him, making him fall with the cripple, for he was very weak from the prolonged effort of dancing. In the fall, the growing leg of the brother, which had not yet become firm, broke. Then the younger brother refused to accompany the couple back to their house. He advised his sister-in-law to plant maize for the feast, because the game which they had collected had already spoiled, and he remained alone in the jungle.

After the feast his brother came to visit him. He made a platform on which he placed the cripple, visiting him from time to time. He noticed that his brother grew smaller each time he came; finally, the latter began to sprout feathers and was transformed into a vɔ:'e [a hawk that

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[5] For the final fate of mẽta'rẽ, see the legend "The Origin of the Lunar Areole," pp. 125–126.

539 cries at the onset of summer]. When the elder brother again came to visit him, the younger said "Now I shall fly to the mountains of the Lower Amazon! čə/vina və:'ə! tə-tə-tə-tə və:'ə!" ["My sister-in-law, plant! Plant!"]. With this, he rose and flew away.

[773] There are noteworthy differences in the version of this legend given to me in 1929 by "Captain" Felix. The explanation of the mutilation of Orion's leg is quite different from that given me by my informants in 1941 and 1942. (See legend, "The Errors of čimịdyuẽ'.")

## wĩkĩča (Orion)[*]

Two brothers found themselves deep in the jungle at the foot of a tree where there was a basket containing cooked potatoes. The elder of the two passed it by, but the younger could not resist temptation and ate one of the tubers. That night as they slept, the demon aguri [(?) unknown to my other informants], who owned the basket, came through the jungle shouting, "Where is my potato?" And from the younger brother's stomach came the reply, "I am here!"

The elder brother sprang up and tried to wake the other, but the younger slept as though dead, not even stirring when the former poked him with a blazing firebrand. Then the elder hid in the loft of the shelter, while aguri came and tore off a leg from the sleeping brother, taking it with him to devour. After his departure, the sleeper awoke and, seeing the bloody stump, exclaimed, "Brother, the bats have eaten my leg!" The other answered, "It was not bats but the demon aguri, whose potatoes you ate!"

Then the younger asked his brother to make him a club and, carried on the latter's back, left the shelter. While they were going through the jungle, an agouti ran in front of them, and at once the younger brother asked to be let down. He hopped after the agouti—on one leg only, but just as quickly as he could have done with two—and killed the little creature with his club. He cut off a small piece of meat from the kill, wrapped it in leaves, and handed it to his brother. After they had gone on a while, a deer sprang up, which the cripple killed in the same fashion. Again he cut off only a small piece of the game, wrapped it in leaves, and handed it to his brother.

When they arrived home, his [the younger brother's] wife was vexed at the smallness of the pieces, but her husband ordered her to erect a huge smoking-grill with a bonfire kindled under it. Then he unwrapped the meat and threw the bits to the woman; instantly they became so large that they completely covered her.

Afterward he ordered that they carry him again to the jungle, where this time he killed a tapir. He waited beside the kill for the buzzards to come, and when they had all gathered, he said to the king of the buzzards, "I killed this game for you, but now you must take me with you to the upper world!" Then the buzzards took him with them to the upper world, where he can still be seen today: wĩkĩča (Orion).

## The Family Transformed into Jaguars

An old man set out with his wife and several other men, I know not whither—I think toward the underworld. The old man taught the others a magical trick: whenever he shot an arrow high into the trunk of a tururi tree,[*] a white strip of bast the breadth of a palm would detach itself and peel down the trunk all the way to the ground. Each person selected a piece, stretched it, and painted it with black spots in imitation of a jaguar's hide, thus making himself a jaguar costume. Putting these costumes on, they turned into jaguars and, as such, coursed through the jungle, killing and eating people; but other Indians discovered the secret and considered how to kill them. Once the old man in jaguar form attacked a group of hunters, but was killed by one of them. His wife overheard them talking about the one who had done the killing, and she resolved to avenge her husband's death. Dressed in her jaguar costume, she pursued the slayer and tore him to pieces.

The old woman's son had two children. One day she went with some hunters to a spot in the jungle where there were some *envieira* trees [*Xylopia* sp.?] on the fruit of which toucans were

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[314] [*] Nimuendajú, Tukuna-Indianern, p. 191.
[287] [*] The inner bark of this tree (*Couratari* sp.?) furnishes the material for masquerade costumes.

feeding. Each hunter hid in the top of a separate tree, from which he shot and killed the birds with blowgun darts. Suddenly the old woman appeared in jaguar form beneath the tree in which her son was sitting, and devoured his birds which lay on the ground. When she had disappeared, the son climbed down from the tree to collect the remaining birds. When he returned to the tree, a thorn pierced his foot and, as he sat down to extract it, the old woman jumped at the back of his neck and killed him. She wrapped his liver in leaves and took it home; when her grandchildren asked her what she had brought, she answered that it was tree fungi. Placing a pot over the fire, she cooked the liver. The children, already suspicious because their father had not yet returned, went to look into the pot and recognized a human liver. When the old woman went out to the jungle again, they secretly followed her and then saw her in jaguar form eating the son's body. Then one of the boys thrust into her anus a lance tipped with a pig's teeth. She fled, and the children buried what was left of their father, in an armadillo burrow.

They were already back at the house when the old woman arrived groaning. When they asked her what had happened, she replied that, while weeding the plantation, she had fallen on a stump and injured herself. But the grandchildren, upon examining the injury, recognized the lance thrust. Then they built a great bonfire in the house yard, and procured a long, hollow ambaúva trunk, splitting it lengthwise from one end only, so that the two split sections would snap together, vibrating, when thrown hard upon the ground. In this way they played with the log, making a terrific clatter in order to annoy the crone. At length she became enraged and stormed out of the house screaming: "My grandchildren! Why do you make such a racket when I am ill?" But they seized their grandmother and threw her into the fire, burning her alive.

## The Man-eating Bat

In the old days there was a gigantic man-eating bat named vɨtɨʻme. If anyone stepped outside the house at night to urinate, the bat would pounce on him and carry him off to the top of a large burity palm, where the creature devoured its prey. Once, a man who was obliged to step out of the house one night placed a wooden trough over his head and back. The monster at once attacked him, but grabbed only the trough, carrying it to the burity, where, realizing that he had been outwitted, he let it fall. Then other people who had to leave their houses at night employed the same ruse.

Finally, one of them marked vɨtɨʻme's course of flight with his victim and set out the next day to search in this direction. He arrived at the burity, under which was a pile of human bones and wooden troughs. The monster was lying in the top of the tree of which the trunk was sagging beneath his weight. The next day the man awaited the arrival of vɨtɨʻme under the tree and, when the bat flew down, fired four blowgun darts into his body. When vɨtɨʻme felt the effect of the curare he said, "If I die now, I shall fall into the game wallow (*canamá*), vuibɨʻne!" Then he flew up and fell down into the mud, where he sank so deep that only a section of the curvature of his back the size of a hand could be seen. The hunter followed him to the wallow and found him submerged. He called his children so that they might see the monster. Then he cut off the skin from the spot still visible and divided it into small pieces to feed his children, but the hide was so tough that nobody could chew it. The children threw the pieces away, and these turned into the blood-sucking bats that exist today.

## LEGENDS OF ODYSSEYS AND ADVENTURES

### The Errors of čimɨdyuẽʼ

There was a woman named čimɨdyuẽʼ (čimɨdyaẽʼ). Her husband, who thoroughly disliked her, took her with him on a hunt. When they met a band of coatá monkeys [*Ateles* sp.] he tricked her, saying that the white sexual parts of the monkeys were the kapok [sumahuma] tufts on the butt ends of the darts that he had already fired into their bodies. She was to wait until the curare took effect and collect the monkeys as soon as they fell, while he would go ahead to kill others. Then, after he had killed enough, he would whistle to her as a signal to join him. So saying, he set out for the house, leaving his wife alone in the jungle.

čimɨdyuẽʼ waited for a long time in vain. The monkeys did not fall, nor did she hear the signal agreed upon. Then she realized that her husband had lied and had abandoned her. She did not

539 know where she was or how to return home. "I shall accompany the monkeys," she said. The monkeys were eating sorva fruits [*Couma* sp.], and čimɨdyuẽ' gathered those which they dropped. At sundown the monkeys assumed human form, and one of them shouted, "There are human beings below us!" The others peered down and recognized the woman. "Why, it's čimɨdyuẽ'! What are you doing here?" "My husband abandoned me in the jungle," she answered, "and so I am accompanying you!" The monkeys arrived at a place where there was a large house. "Here are many hammocks," they said. "Lie down in one and sleep!" čimɨdyuẽ' obeyed, but the next morning there was no house, and the monkeys again had animal form. "I shall accompany you!" čimɨdyuẽ' told them, and wandered through the jungle with the monkeys. They ate sorvas and always threw down plenty for her to eat, so she was satisfied.

At last they reached the dwelling of the lord of monkeys, who had human form, though he was of a race of jaguars and lived in a big house. "What are you doing here?" he demanded of čimɨdyuẽ'. "I came with these people," she replied. "It is well," said the lord of monkeys. "I was waiting for them in order to begin my beer-drinking festival!" Then he ordered čimɨdyuẽ' to strain the beverage [caiçuma]. She brought water from the igarapé, strained the beverage, and everyone drank.

The lord of monkeys slept and snored through his nose, "I shall devour čimɨdyuẽ'!" čimɨdyuẽ' cried, "Grandfather, your nose is snoring my name and says that you want to eat me!" The lord of monkeys became enraged, ordered them to bring a large kernel of a *čaivarú* fruit, and struck himself on the nose with it until it began to bleed. Then he fell asleep again, but soon began to snore in the same fashion. Again the woman awoke him, whereupon he began to maltreat his nose furiously, catching in a gourd the flowing blood and drinking it. Then he ordered still more beer prepared, with the result that everyone was completely befuddled.

On the following day the lord of monkeys went hunting, but before departing he tied a long cord to čimɨdyuẽ''s leg, taking the other end of the cord with him into the jungle. From time to time he would tug at the cord to see whether the woman was still fastened to the other end. Now, in the same house there was a tortoise [jabotí], who was also tied fast. The tortoise told čimɨdyuẽ' that the lord of monkeys was really a jaguar who wanted to eat them both, and that it was high time for them to flee. He advised her to remove the cord from her leg and tie it to a house post; then both of them fled. They passed by the house yard of vę'kɨ'ča,[*] a brother of the lord of monkeys, who was sitting at the door of his house with one leg crossed over the other. On the tortoise' advice čimɨdyuẽ' took a cudgel and struck vę'kɨ'ča a smart blow across the kneecap; the pain made him draw up his leg immediately, while the woman yelled at him in her flight, "Don't tell on us!" [Today one may still see vę'kɨ'ča in the constellation of Orion.]

When the lord of monkeys returned from hunting to find that both čimɨdyuẽ' and the tortoise were missing, he at once set out in pursuit. Arriving at his brother's place, he asked vę'kɨ'ča if he had seen a "fat girl" pass by. However, vę'kɨ'ča was furious with pain and answered that he did not want to be bothered with the "fat girl," since his knee hurt him horribly. Thereupon the lord of monkeys gave up his search and returned home.

While running through the jungle, čimɨdyuẽ' heard a knocking on wood. Thinking that it was some man, she followed the sound, only to find that it was merely a pɔpɔ'ni bird. "If you were only human," she said, "you could show me the way to my father's house!" Then pɔpɔ'ni answered that, if she would always follow the sound of his tapping, she would arrive safely home. But he lied, and she only became more hopelessly lost in the jungle.

At nightfall she encountered an *inambú* [*Tinamus* sp.], who was preening his feathers to puff them up. čimɨdyuẽ', however, thought that she was seeing an old woman plaiting a basket from uarumã; to her the outstretched wings looked like a house. She asked the inambú for permission to sleep there, which was granted, but shortly afterward the bird flew up to a tree limb, and čimɨdyuẽ' was obliged to sleep alone under the tree. When, on the following morning, the inambú flew down from the branch, again assuming human form, čimɨdyuẽ' asked the bird the way to her father's house. "Go in the direction in which I am plaiting these uarumã strips," replied the inambú; but this was also a lie.

That night čimɨdyuẽ' hid beneath an enormous ants' nest hanging from a tree; below it the ground was dry. But the ants' nest was really a jaguar, and at midnight čimɨdyuẽ' heard a voice

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[*] See pp. 15, 142, 147.

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say, "I'll jump down on her!" "What did you say?" she asked in alarm. "I shall jump down on you!" repeated the ants' nest. But she fled just in time. Then, because of the numerous mongubá trees, čimɨdyuẽ' realized that she was in the bottom lands of the Rio Solimões. That night she slept among the root buttresses [sapopemas] of a kapok tree, but all the animals who saw her in her hiding place began to poke fun at her.

A big lizard shouted: "Look! čimɨdyuẽ' is sleeping among the root buttresses! I daresay she's hungry, but we have maize that we might roast for her!" And so speaking, the lizard produced a noise like maize cracking in a fire. A cururú toad [*Bufo* sp.] said, "As for me, I wouldn't live among roots like this čimɨdyuẽ'! I have my own house! But I'll prepare a few yams for her." And scratching the skin of her belly, the toad imitated the sound of scraping yam tubers. With this, the mistress of the kapok tree, the big, blue butterfly [*Morphos menelaus*], woke up. Yawning aloud, she said, "Now I shall go to naugeʼa'ne's plantation to eat pineapples!"

Now naugea'ne was the name of čimɨdyuẽ''s father. "Are you speaking of my father?" At once inquired čimɨdyuẽ'. "Where is he?" "Not far from here," replied the butterfly. "Then take me there!" begged the woman. The butterfly flew ahead and, arriving at the banks of the Solimões, čimɨdyuẽ' saw with astonishment that her father's house was on the opposite side and therefore she had crossed the river without knowing it. Reciting a magic formula, the butterfly transformed čimɨdyuẽ' into a red dragonfly and flew with her to the other side. Then čimɨdyuẽ''s strength almost deserted her, and only through the help of the butterfly did she reach the opposite bank, where she at once recognized her father's plantation. She crushed the best pineapples for the butterfly, and then both went back. čimɨdyuẽ''s father, upon visiting his plantation, was astonished to see so many broken fruits. The next day he came with his wife, and both lay in ambush. When the butterfly and čimɨdyuẽ' came again, naugea'ne recognized his daughter and tried to catch her, but she escaped.

Then naugea'ne called together others to help him, and everyone hid in the plantation on the following days, but the butterfly and čimɨdyuẽ' did not return until the third day. The men managed to capture čimɨdyuẽ', while the butterfly escaped. "Help me, Grandmother!" shrieked čimɨdyuẽ' behind her, but in vain. naugea'ne took his daughter home and gave her an emetic, so that she vomited violently and was thus restored to reason.

Some time later, čimɨdyuẽ' met her former husband at a feast. He had come dressed in a nuúma[1] mask and had a quantity of straw bound to his head. Deriding čimɨdyuẽ', he sang, "Now here comes she whom I abandoned under the coatá monkeys!" and so on. Hearing this, čimɨdyuẽ' procured a bit of cicantã resin and lighted it. Then she called to him, "Let me see your mask!" and, so saying, threw the blazing resin into the dry straw. He continued to dance until suddenly the flames sprang up. Feeling the heat, he ran from the house, trying vainly to remove his tururí costume. His belly burst with the heat. The pare'nü bird dyed his plumage with the blood.

## The Man Who Married the Jaguar's Daughter

There was once an Indian who lived with his mother and grandmother. One day a caiarára monkey appeared in the trees at the edge of the yard. "I shall kill it," said the man, and took his blowgun and quiver to chase the animal, which kept fleeing ever toward the depths of the jungle without giving the hunter an opportunity to use his darts. Finally, the man arrived at a house where a jaguar was living with his mother and two daughters, and he was the master of the monkey.

The daughters ran out to see who had been chasing their pet, saw the man, and asked him what he wanted. "I was hunting that monkey," he answered. "It is our pet," replied the girls, "but come inside and wait for our father!" The man entered the house and had not to wait long before he heard the jaguar arrive, roaring furiously, for he had already sensed the presence of a stranger in his house. Then the jaguar's mother hid the visitor in the loft.

The jaguar brought a collared peccary [taitetú; *Dicotyles tayassu*] that he had killed. "Where is the stranger?" he roared. "In the loft," answered his mother. "He is my nephew, so to speak." "Let him come down at once or I'll devour him!" commanded the jaguar. Trembling with fear, the man climbed down, and the jaguar licked him from head to foot. Then he threw off his skin, assumed human form, and sat conversing with the hunter while the daughters prepared the peccary.

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[1] A small lizard covered with white tufts like cotton.

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539 The old woman, however, drew the stranger aside and warned him not to show the slightest sign that the food was too highly seasoned with peppers. The meat, in fact, was so strongly spiced with peppers that the man was hard put to it not to show his pain. But he managed to conceal it, and this pleased the jaguar, who praised him, saying, "You're a real man!" Afterward he showed the man the way to his home, but the visitor could not find it and so returned to the jaguar's house. His host showed him another path, but again he lost his way and so was obliged to return to the jaguar's house once more.

Then the jaguar's two daughters asked the man to stay and marry them, but the grandmother was afraid of her jaguar son and asked her grandchildren to speak to him first. However, the jaguar agreed to his daughters' wishes. Then they addressed the man, while the jaguar stood to one side listening. The man also liked the proposal, remained in the jaguar's house, and married his daughters.

One day, however, he returned to his mother's house. He was very shy, and the jaguar spots were already dotting his skin. His mother pounded charcoal into powder and painted him with it. He ran to the jungle, where the two girls were roaming about in order to see what was happening to him. He never again returned to human society.

## mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧ the Hunter and His Wives

*a*) mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧'s parents belonged to those first people [ma:'/gita] fished *for* by dyɔiʼ and ɛʼpi [see p. 129]. His only occupation was hunting. On the way, coming and going, he passed a *frog* who would dart into its hole at his approach, and each time mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧ would urinate into the hole. One day he saw a good-looking girl standing before the hole. mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧ looked at her and saw that she was pregnant. "I have become pregnant because of you," she said. "How can that be?" asked mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧. "You always pointed your penis in my direction, and so I became pregnant," she replied. Then he asked her to come to his house and live with him. His mother also thought the girl pretty.

They lived together and she accompanied him on the hunt. He used to catch for her a kind of black beetle that formed her only diet. When his mother saw these beetles in the house, she said, "Why does my son soil his mouth with such filth?" He, however, ate only meat; his wife ate the beetles. The mother threw them out, putting peppers in their place. When mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧ called his wife to the meal, she placed her little pot on the fire and began to eat from it, but the peppers burned her mouth. Then she ran away and hopped into the water in the form of a frog. Her little son, who had remained behind, wept. She learned of this from a rat, but said in reply that she would have another child. However, at night she returned to the house and stole the infant from the grandmother's arms.

*b*) mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧ again went out to hunt. In the fruit cluster of a bacaba palm an arapaço bird was sitting. "Give me a gourdful of your drink also!" said mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧ in passing. When he returned, he saw standing at the side of the palm a pretty girl who offered him a gourdful of bacaba palm wine. He drank it and took the girl home to be his wife. She was in truth very pretty, but her feet were ugly. "My son," said his mother, upon seeing this girl, "couldn't you find a better woman than this one who has such ugly feet?" And, because her mother-in-law disliked her, the girl did not wish to remain with mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧.

*c*) mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧ returned to hunting. He squatted down to defecate directly over the spot where an earthworm was burrowing. She poked out her head and remarked, "My, what a lovely penis!" mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧ looked and saw a beautiful girl with an extremely good figure. He cohabited with her, taking her home with him, where she gave birth to a child. When mɔⁿmanɛ'kɨ̧ went hunting, he told her to leave the child with its grandmother while she herself went out to weed the plantation. She did so, but the child wailed so much that the grandmother decided to carry it to its mother in the plantation. There the earthworm woman had clipped the roots of the weeds beneath the surface over a large area, and they were already wilting, but the old woman did not notice it.

She repeatedly called her daughter-in-law, and when no one answered, she said angrily, "She was supposed to weed the clearing, and she hasn't done a thing!" She took a large river shell with sharp edges and began to cut the weeds. However, in so doing she cut off the lips of the earthworm woman, who was gnawing at the roots just below the surface. Only at night did she return to the house, and when her son cried, she said to mɔ'manɛ'kɨ, "Give me my child!" But she could no 539 longer speak properly. "What's the matter with you?" asked her husband. "Your mother cut off my lips," she replied. He lighted a torch and saw how she was disfigured. She left the house and never returned.

*d*) Again mɔ'manɛ'kɨ went hunting. A band of macaws flew over his head. "Give me some of your maize beer!" shouted mɔ'manɛ'kɨ. When he returned, a macaw girl was waiting for him at the precise spot with a large gourd of maize beer [chicha]. He drank it and took the girl home as his wife. His mother told the girl to prepare maize beer, threw down a quantity of corncobs that hung from the rafters, and left for the plantation. The girl roasted only one ear of corn and with it made beer enough to fill five large jars. Then she went off to bathe. When the mother returned to the house she tripped over the heap of maize and, seeing the cobs intact, began to scold, "This daughter-in-law of mine is the lazy one! She has not made beer for my son!" The girl, who was just then returning from her bath, heard the old woman scolding from afar.

Because of this she would not enter the house, and when her husband returned, she said that she was leaving. At dawn she told him that she wanted to retrieve her comb, which she had thrown on the roof thatch. Climbing up on the ridgepole, she began to sing:

"My mother-in-law has scolded me,
Now drink the beer alone may she!"

The old woman got up and, feeling around in the dark, found that the jars were filled. She called to the girl to return, and apologized, but her daughter-in-law refused to listen and transformed herself into a macaw. At daybreak she cried to mɔ'manɛ'kɨ, "If you love me, follow me! Look for the a:'ru-pana [l.g., *louro chumbo*, laurel] tree, the splinters of which, falling into the water, become transformed into fish. Make a canoe from it and follow me downriver to Mount vaipɨ'!" [See p. 141]. And with this, she flew away to the east.

mɔ'manɛ'kɨ ran to and fro like a crazy man all the next day, searching for the a:'ru-pana. He tried several trees with his axe, until finally the splinters of one, which was next to a pool in the igarapé, turned into fish upon falling into the water. He felled the tree and began to make his canoe. Each day when he returned from work he brought such a quantity of fish that his brother-in-law marveled; since he was a lazy incompetent, he secretly followed mɔ'manɛ'kɨ to spy on him. When the splinters no longer turned into fish, mɔ'manɛ'kɨ realized that someone was watching him. "Are you the one spying on me?" he shouted to his concealed brother-in-law. "Come out and help me!" When the canoe was ready, the two pushed it down the sloping bank into the igarapé. While the brother-in-law was standing in the shallow water, mɔ'manɛ'kɨ suddenly reversed the canoe on top of him. Unable to crawl out unaided, the brother-in-law passed the night under the canoe, singing and crying. The next morning mɔ'manɛ'kɨ came and released him, inviting his brother-in-law to accompany him down the Solimões. mɔ'manɛ'kɨ was seated at the stern, and his brother-in-law was at the prow. Thus they drifted downstream without paddling. When they arrived among the people where the macaw girl was staying, all the inhabitants ran to the bank to see the canoe; mɔ'manɛ'kɨ's wife, however, hid behind the others. The brother-in-law, transformed into a mɔna'n bird, flew up and lighted on her shoulders. The canoe with mɔ'manɛ'kɨ still in it continued downstream a short way. Suddenly its prow turned up perpendicularly, and mɔ'manɛ'kɨ, transformed into an a'ica' bird, flew to the woman's other shoulder. The empty canoe continued to drift at the mercy of the current and finally entered a large lake, where it turned into a dyö'vaë. It is the lord of fish in the Solimões and sends the migratory shoals of fish [825] (piracemas) from that lake.

*d*) Now mɔ'manɛ'kɨ married a girl of his own people. Every time she went to the landing, which was some distance from the house, her body divided into two sections at the waist: her abdomen with the legs remained lying on the bank, while the chest, head, and arms entered the water. The odor of flesh would attract the matrinchan fish [*Characinus amazonicus*, Spix], and she would catch them with her hands, stringing them on a liana. Then her torso would crawl on its hands to the bank and would again adjust itself on the lower part, from which the spinal cord protruded to the length of a finger.

mɔ'manɛ'kɨ's mother was greatly astonished at the amount of fish brought by her daughter-in-law. She made manioc beer [caiçuma] and ordered the girl to fetch water. However, as the daughter-in-law delayed, after some time she became impatient and went to the landing herself. Seeing the lower part of the prone body, she immediately pulled off the protruding portion of the spinal cord. When the upper half crawled on the bank, it tried vainly to adjust itself to the lower half, finally climbing up to a branch overhanging the path. When night had fallen and his wife had not yet returned, mɔ'manɛ'kɨ took a lighted torch and went toward the landing. As he passed beneath the overhanging branch, the upper half of the woman sprang to his shoulders, where she became stuck. She would not let him eat, snatching the food away from in front of his mouth and eating it herself. He grew thin, and his back became filthy with the woman's feces.

mɔ'manɛ'kɨ went to his fish weir and dived in to see if any fish were in the trap [jiquí] behind the entrance to the weir. "There are many piranhas here!" he told his wife. "Close your eyes so that they will not tear them out!" Then, diving, he scratched her face with a piranha jaw which he had secretly brought along. When they returned to the surface, he lied, saying that the piranhas had done it and that it would be better if he dived alone. Then the upper half of the woman detached itself from his shoulders and lay down to wait on the bank. mɔ'manɛ'kɨ dived, returning with some fish. Again he dived, swam under water a good way, and fled without being seen.

The upper half of the woman perched on one of the posts of the weir. After a few days she began to sprout parrot feathers and, like a tame parrot, began to speak to herself and to try her wings. Hidden in the bushes, mɔ'manɛ'kɨ watched her daily. "Tomorrow I shall fly!" she cried, "I shall fly down the Solimões to where there are mountains!" The next morning she flew away, still chattering, while mɔ'manɛ'kɨ watched her departure from his hiding place.

## u'nę's Fishing

u'nę's old father said, "My son, we have absolutely nothing to eat; how shall we allay our hunger?" "I shall go fishing," replied u'nę, "with timbó!" He called his brothers and his brothers-in-law, and the *carará* diving bird [*Plotus anhinga*, L.]. Altogether there were ten persons. Each one took a small piece of timbó with him. On the way they met two Tukuna, whom they invited to join them. u'nę's road, however, went through the air, high above the jungle. He unrolled the road before him, and the last one in the column rolled it up again. He warned the two Tukuna that they would pass through a place where they would be afflicted with diarrhea; therefore each should carry with him a leaf container. One of them followed his instructions, defecated into the container and threw the feces down; the other, attempting to squat at the edge of the path, fell and disappeared.

u'nę had told no one, not even his father, where he was going to fish, since, he said, he would have bad luck in fishing if he did so. Arriving at the place itself, u'nę did not order a shelter erected. He sent the diving bird ahead to see if there were any fish and to find them something to eat quickly. The bird dived into the river and returned with a turtle, saying that there were many tambaqui fish there. They ate the turtle, and the next morning u'nę said that he wanted to eat the "Father of Turtles," who was a gigantic serpent lying in a hole at the bottom of the river. u'nę commanded the diving bird to trail timbó around the snake's nose. They all collected their pieces of timbó into a parcel, which u'nę tied to the bird's back. The bird dived and circled for some time directly above the serpent's head. Then he appeared once more at the surface and told what he had done. Shortly thereafter, the snake's tail was thrust above the water's surface, and u'nę ordered the bird to tie a line round it. Everyone tugged at the liana, and with great exertion they finally pulled a section of the snake (10 m. long) to shore. But suddenly the weather turned gloomy and cold, and a rainstorm began, because the serpent was the father of the cold spell ["Pai do Friagem," see p. 3]. They cut off the snake's tail section, dividing it among themselves and roasting the pieces with many tambaquis and turtles. Afterward they went home with all speed along u'nę's road. He knocked on the road, which echoed like a struck sapopema, and thus announced his coming to those who had remained at home.

Then his mother-in-law prepared maize beer, and his old father was greatly pleased. They arrived, each with only a tiny leaf parcel. "Have you caught much?" asked the old man. "Yes, a great deal!" replied u'nę, handing his mother his parcel. When she untied the liana a whole stream of smoked pieces came tumbling out. They had to erect a huge grill in order to make room for his parcel and the other nine packages, which they did not open for the moment but only laid on top of the grill to warm.

## Origin of the Amazon

Two dyairũ [locusts] were traveling toward the headwaters of the Solimões in order to fish there, 539 taking with them a Tukuna whom they met on the way. They unrolled the road before them and rolled it up again behind. They defecated into leaf containers which they threw to one side of the path. The Tukuna was seized by diarrhea and, not wishing to follow the eaxmple of the dyairũ, squatted by the side of the path while the other two went ahead. When done, he ran after them, calling, but his own excrement answered him from behind. Returning to see who had called him, he knocked the feces to bits with a club. Then, still shouting, he hurried after the dyairũ once more, but this time each piece of his dung responded. Furious, he returned to scatter the excrement in all directions, but when he shouted to the dyairũ, even more fecal voices replied. Then he paid them no further attention and journeyed up the Solimões alone.

Finally he reached a small pool of water, where two "vi" birds were playing, jumping back and forth over the water. "What are you doing?" he asked. "We are jumping over the pool!" they replied. "That is not difficult, since the pool is so small!" "Then jump over it yourself!" replied the birds. But when he started to do so, with one leg on either side, the pool suddenly widened, transforming itself into the Amazon River. He remained standing over it with legs apart and turned into an *uapuhy*.

## The Sabiá Fowler

A man made a long fence in the jungle with several openings in it, each equipped with a noose [see p. 31]. After some time he returned to visit it, but found only a thrush [sabiá] in one of the snares. That afternoon he came again, but once more found only a thrush. The result was the same on the following day.

Then he built another fence and, when he had finished, returned to the first; again there was only a thrush in the snare. When he returned to his house, the others had caught many forest turkeys (mutum) and jacús in their snares, and laughed at him, so that he became melancholy. But when the next day he again found only a thrush, he became enraged: he forced open the bird's beak and broke wind into it, letting it fly away. When he returned home, he was already insane, chattering nonsense incessantly: of snakes, of rain, of the anteater's neck, and so forth. He complained to his mother that he was hungry, but when she offered food, he said that he had already eaten. Five days later he died, but still gabbled on. Mould and fungi grew on his body lying in the hammock, but he still chattered nonsense. When at last they came to bury him, he said, "If you bury me, fire ants will attack you!" At last they waited no more but buried him while he was still talking.

# APPENDIX A

## KINSHIP TERMS

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| TERM | MEANING | PERSON SPEAKING |
|---|---|---|
| čau-na'tį | father | son and daughter |
| čau-ẽ | mother | son and daughter |
|  | grandmother | grandchildren |
| čau-ne'pį | father's brother | nephew and niece |
| o'ẽ | mother's brother | nephew and niece |
| čau-te'kį | father's sister | nephew and niece |
|  | mother's sister | nephew and niece |
| oi' | grandfather | grandchildren |
| čau-ə̃'ne | brother | brother and sister |
|  | son of father's brother | cousin (male and female) |
|  | son of mother's sister | cousin (male and female) |
| čau-ə̃'ya | sister | brother and sister |
|  | daughter of father's brother | cousin (male and female) |
|  | daughter of mother's sister | cousin (male and female) |
| čau-ta'/ | son and daughter of father's sister | cousin (male and female) |
|  | son and daughter of mother's brother | cousin (male and female) |
|  | son and daughter of sister | uncle and aunt |
|  | grandson and granddaughter | grandfather and grandmother |
| čau-ma'gį | son and daughter of brother | uncle and aunt |
| čau-nẽ' | children (sons) | mother and father |
| čau-a'kį | daughter | mother and father |
| čau-te' | husband | wife |
| čau-ma | wife | husband |
| čau-tį | father-in-law | son-in-law<br>daughter in-law |
| čau-/ẽ | mother-in-law | son-in-law<br>daughter-in-law |
| čau-atẽ' | son-in-law | wife's parents |
| čau-nẽ'a | daughter-in-law | husband's parents |
| čau-a'ne | husband's brother | sister-in-law |
|  | wife's brother | brother-in-law |
|  | sister's husband | brother-in-law and sister-in-law |
| ča-ričeku' | wife's sister | brother-in-law |
| ča-u'ma/ | wife's sister | brother-in-law |
|  | husband's sister | sister-in-law |
|  | brother's wife | brother-in-law and sister-in-law |
| čau-tękį-te | husband of sister of father or mother | nephew and niece |
| čau-ne'-pų-ma | wife of father's brother | nephew and niece |
| čau-ta'-ma | wife of mother's brother | nephew and niece |
| čau-na'tį rįkį | mother's husband | stepson and stepdaughter |
| čau-ẽ-rįkį | father's wife | stepson and stepdaughter |
| čau-nẽ-rįkį | husband's son | stepmother |
|  | wife's son | stepfather |
| čau-a'kį-rįkį | husband's daughter | stepmother |
|  | wife's daughter | stepfather |

Half brothers and half sisters are regarded within the family as brothers and sisters.

# APPENDIX B

## Linguistic Classification

Rivet describes Tukuna as "un dialecte arawak très corrompu" and cites numerous lexicological examples in support. Of these, however, some do not seem to me to be valid, principally because of the deficient phonetic reproduction of Tukuna in the vocabularies which Rivet had at his disposal.

Nothing can be proved with such examples as the following:

| | Tukuna | Arawak | Uainumá |
|---|---|---|---|
| mouth | a | hai, hei, ya, ye (tooth) | |
| water | dë'a' | | |
| | dõ-čįį | čia' (river) | |
| earth | guain | | |
| | vaį'mį" (va-į, black; mį", mass) | | ga'hau |

In Uainumá the word does not even appear to be composed in the same way (ča'riri, black). However, in spite of these qualifications, the Tukuna vocabulary undoubtedly has a number of borrowed elements from the Arawak languages, as Brinton and Tessmann have also recognized. Among the thirty-eight word stems which Tessmann offers, it appears to me that there are nine—not only six—which have their Arawakan equivalents.

The Tupí influence is greater than Rivet supposes, even disregarding certain equivalents, such as the following:

| | Tukuna | Tupí |
|---|---|---|
| drink (v.) | aü' | au' |

when the stem is *u* and the pronominal prefix of the first person singular is *a*-. Or:

| | Tukuna | Tupí | Guaraní |
|---|---|---|---|
| branch | ča'kįį (?) | šakao | tacang |

It also appears in the pronouns, which Rivet correctly noted but did not take into consideration in his table. The similarities with Yurí are fewer, but not less in importance, and it is regrettable that we lack phonetically written vocabularies of this language; I myself did not find anyone who still spoke it.

The Tukáno element, which Tessmann cites as the second influence, is very weak, as Rivet noticed also. As for the Múra, which Loukotka mentions as a component of Tukuna, I have found no certain vestiges.

There is, however, another element in Tukuna—the Gê, to which Martius has drawn attention, listing eleven examples, which Rivet increased to sixteen. We note also that both authors include in the Gê family the Kamakã' and the Mašakarí. In order to present in an orderly fashion all the material we have on the various languages in question, I list below Rivet's sixteen Gê equivalents. All are given in my own phonetic orthography except words for which I have no corresponding terms; these are given in Rivet's orthography, with quotation marks.

| English | Tukuna | Equivalents |
|---|---|---|
| 1. hair | dya'ö | da-zai' (Šerénte; Šavánte)<br>"zõ" (Malalí) |
| 2. to run | nya | nya:'ni (Kamakã' [Kotoxó]) |

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| English | Tukuna | Equivalents |
|---|---|---|
| 3. caiman | kɔ'ya | kuihį' (šerénte; šavánte) |
| 4. water | döa'; döčįį | "kedochiã" (Kotošó), river |
| | | taa"-kọ'wa:' (? Kamakã) |
| 5. woman | ñã | nyenazkwa:' (Kamakã [Kotošó]), girl |
| | | niela (Kamakã' [Kotošó]), woman (not listed by Rivet) |
| | | ndi (Rąmkó'kamekra [Krahó]), vulva |
| 6. fire | çį' | čaxkọ' (Kamakã' [Kotošó]) |
| 7. a tough grass (*capím*) | maĩ' | "mahe-ky" (Corôado), maize |
| | | "maky" (Purí), maize |
| 8. maize | čavį' | čų'i (Mašakarí, etc.) |
| 9. shinbone | para | pa:'ri (Apinayé), foot |
| | | pa:'ri (Apą̂nyekra), foot |
| | | "t'cha-perré" (Corôado), foot |
| 10. rice | avatįį' | wonsi' (Suyá), maize |
| | | awati' (both branches of the Tupí) |
| 11. nail | pa'tį | pata' (Mašakarí, etc.), foot |
| | | pa-tó (Apą'nyekra), our shinbone |
| | | "ni-pata" (Kotošó), bone (Kamakã': dionče = bone) |
| 12. foot | kutį | "bathaja-ko'to" (Apą̂nyekra), calf of leg (?) |
| | | "guang-gathie'" (Kamakã'), femur [? tọ, leg] |
| | | pą-či (Mašakarí, etc.), thigh; [ketóy = toe] |
| 13. branch | ča'kįį | pi"-yale', (Rąmkó'kamekra [Apą̂nyekra]), root |
| 14. sun | ịakį' | ča'xkọ' (Kamakã', etc.) |
| 15. earth | vaį'mį" | "hâme" (Koropó) |
| | | hahą'm (Mašakarí, etc.; Patašó) |
| 16. head | ẽ'ru | hẹro' (Kamakã', etc.) |

No. 10 is erroneously classified. Nos. 4, 6, 12, and 15 compare radically dissimilar forms. Nos. 7, 11, and 13 are words with quite different meanings (nail = foot = shinbone). In Nos. 3, 8, and 14, perhaps also in No. 1, the resemblance is pretty vague. That leaves us:

| | Tukuna | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2. run | nya: | nya:'ni̢ (Kamakã') | nyani̢ (Guaraní) |
| 5. woman | ñẽ | niela (Kamakã') | |
| 9. shinbone | para | pa:'ri (Timbira-Kayapó) | pra (šerénte, foot; plural, pe) |
| 16. head | ẽ'ru | hẹro' (Kamakã') | |

And we can also add:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| good | mẽ | mpẽ (Timbira) | mẽ (Kapayó) |

This is very little; and furthermore, the five, or rather eight, resemblances embrace three distinct linguistic families of eastern Brazil: Gê (4 equivalents), Kamakã' (3 equivalents), Tupí-Guaraní (1 equivalent). However, I do not think that these resemblances are entirely fortuitous, even though I can offer no acceptable explanation of them. The hypothesis which Rivet admits as most probable, i.e., that "certaines dialectes gês ont emprunté a l'arawak des radicaux nombreux," is useless because only one of the words compared is also found in the Arawak languages, which evidently cannot have been the transmitters. In this context it is well to remember that Gê elements also appear in certain languages of the upper

Madeira: a few are found in the languages of the Čapakúra family, and they are 197
a little more evident in the isolated language of the Jabutí (and Arikapú) of the 114
upper Rio Branco, tributary to the Guaporé, discovered and reported on by H. Snethlage in 1933.

The grammatical characteristics of Tukuna are the following: one article, na 193
(which is placed before the substantive), different from the personal pronoun of the third person, na; two plural suffixes of substantives, *-ta* and *-gi;* and a suffix, *-ĩ,* of the plural of verbs. There are distinct forms for the singular and plural of both transitive and intransitive verbs, viz.:

to go (one person) u*
to go (several persons) i*

to kill (one person) ma/
to kill (several persons) da'i

The Tukuna forms for the first person singular (masc.) and the first person plural (masc.) of certain pronouns correspond to the Tupí, as well as the Yurí, forms. These are:

First person singular (mas.) ča
First person plural (mas.) ta

(Omágua: tana = us, exclusively.) For the Tukuna pronoun of the second person singular, ku, I have found no corresponding form in any language (unless it be the Uro, cun ?). The personal pronouns (demonstrative) of the third person are the most distinctive characteristic of the Tukuna language. In addition to the distinction of gender, which is expressed only in them, many of these pronouns convey also a local and temporal meaning. I do not know of a similar process in any other language.

This distinction of gender in the third person of the pronouns (as well as in 193
the substantives) is certainly one of the best criteria of the Arawakan languages, but it is lacking precisely in the Arawakan language immediately next to Tukuna, 197
viz., Kayuišána, while it appears in the non-Arawakan languages of the region—Witóto, Mirânya, and Tukáno. Nor do there appear to be other grammatical affinities between Tukuna and the Arawakan languages. Since the Tukuna lexical elements do not represent an appreciable percentage of the Arawakan languages, I do not believe that there is sufficient ground for including Tukuna in the Arawak family, as Brinton, Rivet, and Loukotka have done. It is preferable to consider it, for the time being, as Chamberlain and Tessmann do, an isolated language.

# GLOSSARY

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| | |
|---|---|
| abiú | abiu (*Lucuma caimito*), tree with light-yellow fruit |
| acapú | tree (*Vouacapoua americana; Andira Aubletii*) |
| acarí | a small fish (*Chalceus macrolepidotus*, G.) |
| acutipurú | squirrel (*Sciurus* sp.) |
| açacú | tree (*Hura crepitans*) |
| açafrôa | yellow dye plant (*Amaryllis* sp.) |
| açahy | the assai palm (*Euterpe edulis; oleracea*) ; palmito doce (l.g.) |
| aljava | small, narrow cylindrical basket |
| ambaúva | fruit tree (*Cecropia* sp.) ; ôca de ambaúva (l.g.) |
| ambé | liana (*Philodendron* sp.) ; cipó ambé |
| anajá | a fruit palm (*Maximiliana regia*) |
| anhumá | bird (*Palamedea cornuta*) |
| anta | tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) |
| anum | cuckoo (*Crotophaga minor*, Gm.) |
| aracú | fish (*Leporinus* sp.) |
| arapaço | bird (*Nasica* sp.) |
| araparyrana | tree (*Macrolobum multijugum*) |
| arara | macaw (*Ara* sp.) |
| arara canindé | macaw (*Ara ararauna*) |
| arara tucupy | tree (*Parkia oppositifolia*, Spruce) ; arara tucupé; visgueiro; "paricá" (not the true paricá) |
| arara vermelho | scarlet macaw (*Ara macao*) |
| aratinga | macaw (*Ara severa*) |
| ariá | edible root (*Maranta lutea*, Jacq.) ; araruta (*M. arundinacea*) |
| arraia | ray, skate (*Trygon* sp.; Potamotrygon; Paratrygon) |
| atta | a sort of custard apple (*Annona* sp.) |
| auaí | a fruit (*Thevetia nerifolia*) ; also, auhy |
| bacaba | fruit of the bacabeira, *q.v.* |
| bacabeira | an oil palm (*Oenocarpus bacaba*) |
| bacabinha | fruit (*Oenocarpus minor*) ; bacabinha patauá (*O. distichis*, Mart.) |
| bacuráo | nocturnal swallow (*Caprimulgus* sp.) ; also, bacuráu |
| bacurí | bright-yellow fruit of the bacurizeiro, *q.v.* |
| bacurizeiro | a fruit tree (*Platonia insignis*) |
| balaio | basket or hamper |
| barrigudo | monkey (*Lagothrix* sp.) ; lit., paunchy |
| beijú | manioc flat cake |
| bicho de pé | chigger (*Pulex penetrans; Tunga penetrans*) |
| biribá | tree with cream-yellow fruit (*Rollinia orthopetala*, DC) |
| boto vermelho | dolphin (*Delphinius rostratus*) |
| braço de buriti | leafstalk of burity palm |
| brinquedo do cão | bull-roarer |
| bubuia, ir de (v.) | to descend at the mercy of a stream; also, bubuiar (v.) |
| buriti | burity palm (*Mauritia vinifera*) |
| buriti do brejo | muriti palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*) |
| caapi cipó | a narcotic liana (*Banisteria* sp.) |
| Caapora | a forest demon |
| cachorra | fish (*Kynodon hydrocyon*, Cast.) |
| caiarára | monkey (*Cebus albifrons*) |
| caiaué | palm (*Elaeis melanococca*, Gaertn.) ; caia caiaué |
| caiçuma | fermented beverage from sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*) |
| camapú | husk tomato or ground cherry (*Physalis* sp.) |

| | |
|---|---|
| **canamá** | a game wallow |
| **cancan** | bird (*Ibyster americanus*) |
| **canna brava** | cane, reed (*Gynerium* sp.) ; cana braba |
| **capibara** | giant rodent (*Hydrocoerus capibara hydrochaeris*) ; capivara |
| **capoeira** | secondary jungle growth |
| **cará** | yam (*Dioscorea* sp.) ; inhame |
| **caraipe** | a siliceous wood (*Licania scabra*, Hook), caraipe verdadeiro |
| **carajurá** | plant (*Arribidea chica*, Bur.) |
| **caraná** | palm (*Mauritia carana*, Wall.) |
| **caranguejo** | crab, crayfish |
| **carapaná** | gnat (*Culex* sp.) ; carapaná |
| **carará** | a diving bird (*Plotus anhinga*, L.) |
| **carañaçú vermelho** | fish (*Astronotus ocellatus*, Agass.) ; also, acarañacú, acarañassú |
| **carauatána** | blowgun (cf. Sp. *zarabatana*) |
| **casa de cupim** | earthen termite nest or house |
| **casco** | canoe strengthened by interior transverse braces |
| **castanha do Pará** | Brazil nut (*Bertholletia excelsa*) |
| **castiçal** | palm (*Iriartea exorrhiza; according to* Ducke, *I. ventricosa*) |
| **caxaça** | cane rum; also, cachaça, pinga |
| **chicha** | maize beer |
| **cicantã** | resin (source: *Protium heptaphyllum*, Aubl.) |
| **cigana** | a pheasant (*Opisthocomus hoazin*) |
| **cipó** | cipo, liana, creeper, jungle vine |
| **cipó ambé** | liana (*Philodendron* sp.) ; ambé |
| **cipó barí** | liana (unidentified) |
| **cipó guembé** | liana (*Philodendron* sp.) |
| **cipó mucuná** | liana (*Mucuna* sp.) |
| **coandú** | rodent (*Histrix prehensilis; Cercolabes* sp.) |
| **coatá** | monkey (*Ateles* sp.) |
| **coatí** | raccoon (*Nasua socialis*) ; coatimundi, bando |
| **condurú de sangue** | tree (*Brosium* paraense, Hub.) ; amapá doce (see also muirapiranga) |
| **cuia** | gourd or calabash |
| **cuieira** | calabash tree (*Crescentia cuyete*) |
| **cumarú** | tonka-bean tree (*Dipterix odorata*, Willd.; also, *Coumarouna* sp.) |
| **cumatê** | plant (*Myrcia atramentifera*, B. Rodrig.) |
| **cunaüará** | toad (*Hyla venulosa*) |
| **cupim** | applied equally to termites and their structures |
| **cupú** | a wild chocolate (*Theobroma grandiflorum*) ; cupú do matto |
| **cupuhy** | a wild chocolate (*Theobroma subincanum*, Mart.) |
| **curaca** | native chief who receives authority from whites (Peru) |
| **curauá** | a palm (*Mauritia curauá*) |
| **curimatá** | fish (*Prochilodus* sp.) |
| **cururú** | toad (*Bufo* sp.) ; sapo-cururú |
| **cutia** | agouti (*Dasyprocta aguti; D. azarae*) |
| **embaúba** | (*Cecropia* sp.) ; ambaúva |
| **encoivarar (v.)** | to cut and pile for second burning partly consumed brush (while making a clearing) |
| **envieira** | liana (*Xylopia* sp.) |
| **envira** | liana (*Xylopia brasiliensis*) ; embira |
| **estolica** | atlatl, throwing board |
| **farinha d'agua** | macerated and ferm[illegible] manioc root (*Manihot* sp.) |
| **farinha de mandioca** | grated, expressed, [illegible] manioc flour (*Manihot utilissima*) |

| | |
|---|---|
| gapuhy | liana (*Martinella obovata*) |
| gavião real | royal hawk (*Thrasaetus harpya; Harpya destructor*, L.) |
| genipapo | genipa (*Genipa americana* or *G. brasiliensis*) |
| giráu | platform of poles |
| guariba | monkey (*Alouatta seniculus seniculus*) |
| guaricanga de bengala | a cane (*Geonoma elegans*, Mart.); ubim |
| igaçaba | fired clay pot or jug; often large |
| igapó | inundated jungle along streams or rivers subject to periodic overflow |
| igarapé | a narrow, natural channel between two islands or between an island and the riverbank; a canoe passage through inundated jungle |
| imbaúba | a fruit tree (*Cecropia* sp.); ambaúva |
| inambú | a partridge-like bird (*Crypturus* sp.); nhambú; jáo |
| inamb-ú | a partridge-like bird (*Tinamus* sp.) |
| ingá | edible pods of the inga tree (*Inga edulis*, Mart.) |
| inhame | yam (*Dioscorea* sp.); cará |
| irára | a huron (*Galictis barbara*) |
| jabotí | tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*, Spix; *Emys tabulata*); also, jaboty, jabuti |
| jaburú | a stork (*Mycteria americana*) |
| jacamím | trumpeter bird (*Psophia crepitans*); also an aromatic bush (*Aspidosperma inundatum*, Ducke) |
| jacaré-tinga | caiman (*Caiman yacare; C. sclerops*) |
| jacú | a grouselike bird (*Penelope superciliaris*) |
| jacurarú | fish (*Tupinambis* sp.) |
| jacuruxy | fish (*Dracaena guyanensis*) |
| jandaira | wild bee (*Melipona* sp.) |
| japihim | an oriole-like bird (*Cassicus cela*, L.); japim |
| japú | an oriole-like bird (*Ostinops decumanus*, Pall.) |
| jararáca | venomous snake (*Bothrops jararaca*) |
| javarí | palm (*Astrocaryum january*, Mart.) |
| jejú | fish (*Etythrinus unitoeniatus*); tarira de mar |
| jiquy | basket trap attached to a fish weir |
| jurumúm | large squash (*Cucurbita maxima*) |
| jurutí | pigeon (*Leptoptila rufaxilla*); juruti-verdadeira |
| leãozinho | marmoset (*Cebuella pygmaea pygmaea*, Spix) |
| lontra | otter (*Lutra paranaensis*) nutria; lontra do Brasil; ariranha (*Pteroneura brasiliensis*) |
| louro-chumbo | a heavy-wooded tree of the Lauraceae |
| macaxera | sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*); aipim |
| macucáua | bird (*Tinamus solitarius*); macuava |
| maguary | bird (*Ardea cocoi*) |
| maloca | communal Indian dwelling; extended family house |
| mambira | anteater (*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*) tamanduá-cavallo |
| mandioca | root of manioc (*Manihot utilissima*) |
| mandioca braba | bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*) |
| manduví | peanut (*Arachis hypogaea*) |
| maniva | plant and shoots of manioc (*Manihot* sp.) |
| manixy | unidentified tree; also, manixí, manixeiro, manixixeiro |
| maracajá grande | ocelot (*Felis pardalis*) |
| maracanã grande | a macaw (*Ara maracana*); also, maracanã |

| | |
|---|---|
| marajá | peach palm (*Bactris utilis*) |
| maruim | small mosquito (*Culicoides* sp.) |
| matamatá | turtle (*Chelys fimbriata; Testudo chelis fimbriata*) |
| matrinchan | fish (*Characinus amazonicus*, Spix) |
| mingau | hot, sweetened maize gruel |
| miriti | palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); mirity |
| miuá | bird (*Phalacrocorax vigua*) |
| mogica | mush or pap made of smoked fish and/or game; mojica |
| monguba | tree (*Bombax* sp.) |
| moquado | roast meat and/or fish collected for a feast |
| moquem | grill for roasting or smoking fish and meat |
| motá | notched single-log ladder; mutá |
| muirapiranga | tree (*Brosium paraense*, Hub.); Brazil wood, pau brazil (*Caesalpinia echinata*) |
| mundé | a deadfall |
| mutuca | gadfly (*Tabanus* sp.); a buzzer disk |
| mutum | a turkey-like jungle fowl (*Mitua mitu*); mutum-cavallo |
| muxiua | edible larvae of Coleoptera |
| nanahy | a bromeliad (*Bromelia* sp.) |
| ôca de ambaúva | (*Cecropia* sp.); refers to hollow, compartmented bole of the tree |
| olho do terçado | iron halving ring of a machete |
| onça | jaguar (*Felis onca*); onça pintada |
| orelha de pau | tree fungus (*Polyporus* sp.) |
| paca | rodent (*Coelogenys paca*) |
| pacú | fish (*Myletes* sp.) |
| pagé | shaman |
| paiauarú | fermented drink from toasted manioc flat cakes; also fermented fruit juices |
| pamá | unidentified fruit |
| pamonha | cake of grated green maize baked in a banana leaf |
| panéma | dull, inept; luckless |
| parapará | tree (*Cordia tetandra*, Aubl. or *C. umbraculifera*); pau de jangada |
| parauacú | monkey (*Pithecia hirsuta*, Spix) |
| paricá | pepper (*Piptadenia peregrina*, Benth.) |
| patauá | palm with oily seeds (*Oenocarpus pataua*) |
| patrão | master, boss, employer |
| paturí | small duck (*Querquedula brasiliensis*) |
| pau mulato | tree (*Capirona* sp.) |
| paxiuba | palm (*Socratea exorrhiza*) |
| paxiuba barriguda | palm (*Iriartea ventricosa*, Mart.; according to Ducke, *I. exorrhiza*) |
| paxiubinha | palm (*Iriartella setigera*, Mart.; *I. setigera*) |
| peixe-boi | river manatee (*Manatus inunguis; Trichechus inunguis*) |
| penica-pau | woodpecker; pica-pau |
| peteca | ball, shuttlecock; also the game itself |
| pinupiná | unidentified nettle |
| piracema | migratory shoal of spawning fish |
| pirahyba | large catfish (*Piratinga pira-iba; Brachyplatystoma filamentosa*) |
| piranha | cannibal fish (*Pygocentrus piraya*); piraí; piranha branca (*Serrasalmo* sp.) |
| pirarucú | large fish (*Arapaima gigas*) |
| poço | sinkhole in creek or stream |

| | |
|---|---|
| peraquê | electric eel (*Gymnotus electricus*, L.; *Electrophorus electricus*) |
| prego | monkey (*Cebus fatuellus*) |
| puçá | dip net |
| panacarica | semicylindrical woven awning for canoe |
| punan | tree (*Iryanthera tricornis*, Ducke); punan |
| pupunheira | peach palm (*Guilielma speciosa*) |
| purú-purú | pinta; skin disease caused by *Spirochaeta pintae* |
| queixada | white-lipped peccary (*Dicotyles albirostris; Tayassu pecari*); taitetú, *q.v.* |
| quiricá | semilunate rocking-board for pounding meal |
| sabiá | thrush (*Turdus* sp.) |
| sacupaia | nut-bearing tree (*Lecythis paraensis*, Hub.), "monkey-pot nut" |
| saguim | marmoset (*Midas* sp.) |
| sapopema | root buttress of a tree |
| sararáca | arrow harpoon; fishing arrow |
| saúva | ant (*Atta cephalotes*) |
| seringueiro | rubber gatherer |
| socó | bird (*Ardea* sp.) |
| sorubím | fish (*Pseudoplatystoma corruscans; Platystoma* sp.); surubím, *q.v.* |
| sorva | fruit (*Couma utilis*); the rubber latex of this tree can be drunk |
| suçuarana | puma (*Puma concolor; Felis concolor*) |
| sumahuma | kapok (*Ceiba pentandra*) |
| surubím | fish (*Pseudoplatystoma corruscans; Platystoma* sp.); sorubím |
| taboca | Brazilian bamboo (*Guadua superba*, Hub.); taquaruçú |
| tacacá | beverage of manioc starch; spittle of a "possessed" shaman |
| taitetú | collared peccary (*Tayassu tacaju; Dicotyles tayassu*); catetú, caitetú |
| tamanduá bandeira | great banded anteater (*Myrmecophaga jubata*) |
| tamanduá mirim | a small anteater (*Myrmecophaga didactyla*) |
| tambaquí | fish (*Colossoma bidens*) |
| tamoatá | fish (*Callichthys callichthys*); tamboatá |
| tanga | female pubes covering; triangular cloth or apron |
| tangurupará | bird (*Monassa* sp.) |
| taóca | army ant (*Ecyton* sp.) |
| tapagem | weir |
| tapera | abandoned jungle clearing, partially overgrown |
| tapereba | tree with edible fruit, a relative of the mango (*Spondias* sp.); taperiba |
| taquaruçú | Brazilian bamboo (*Guadua superba*, Hub.); taboca |
| taracuá | inflammable substance found in tracuá ant (*Azteca* sp.) nests; used as tinder |
| tartaruga grande | great Amazon turtle (*Emys amazonica*) |
| tatú | nine-banded armadillo (*Dasypus* sp.) |
| tatú canastra | giant armadillo (*Priodontes giganteus; Cheloniscus gigas*) |
| tauary | tree (*Cariniana* sp.; *Couratari* sp.); tauari; inner bark used to roll cigarettes |
| taxyzeiro | tree (*Sclerolobium tinctorium*, Benth.); taxizeiro de tinta |
| terçado | jungle knife, machete, *facão* |
| timbó | narcotic liana (*Tephrosia toxicaria*) crushed and thrown into quiet waters to drug fish. Many such plants: *Paullinia, Lonchocarpus*, etc. |
| tipity | tubular manioc press woven of uarumã fiber; tipiti |

| | |
|---|---|
| **tipoia** | carrying sling for infants |
| **tiririca** | shrub (*Scleria* sp.) |
| **torocána** | wooden slit drum |
| **tracajá** | a river turtle (*Podocnemis* sp.; *Emys tracaja; E. dumeriliana*) |
| **tracuá** | ant (*Azteca* sp.) |
| **trahira** | fish (*Hoplias malabaricus; Erythrinus macrodon; Macrodon* sp.); traira |
| **trempé** | tripod for suspending food or vessels over cooking fire |
| **treve rouxo** | unidentified plant; lit., "purple trefoil" or "clover" |
| **tucandira** | ant (*Cryptocercus atratus*) |
| **tucum** | fiber from tucumá palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*) |
| **tucumá** | palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma; A. vulgare*) |
| **tucunaré** | fish (*Cichla* sp.) |
| **tuixáua** | native chief receiving authority from whites (Brazil) |
| **tujujá** | bird (*Tantalus loculator*) |
| **Tupana** | god, saint (l.g.) |
| **tururí** | large tree from the inner bark of which cloth (or paper) is made by pounding and soaking (*Lecythis ollaria; Sterculia ivira*). Cf. tapa or kapa |
| **uajurí** | communal work party |
| **uapuhý** | a swamp climber (*Ficus* sp.) which eventually develops into a large tree with enormous aerial roots |
| **uapunga** | a fish lure struck on the surface of quiet waters to imitate the impact of falling fruits |
| **uaricánas** | ceremonial musical instruments for girl's puberty rite among the Tukuna |
| **uarumá** | plant (*Ischnosiphon* sp.) |
| **ubá** | wooden dugout canoe |
| **ubím** | cane (*Geonoma elegans*, Mart.); guaricanga de bengala, *q.v.* |
| **ucuhuba** | tree (*Virola* sp.; *Myristica otoba*); "Brazilian nutmeg" |
| **uequy** | the sapote or zapote tree with sweet reddish brown fruit (*Lucuma mammosa*, Gaertn.); uiqué |
| **umarí** | fruit (*Poraqueiba sericea*, Tul.) |
| **unaní** | resinous plant (*Moronoba* sp.; *Moronobea* sp.) |
| **úra** | crab louse; screw worm infesting sores of animals |
| **urubú** | buzzard (*Cathartes urubu*) |
| **urubú gereba** | buzzard (*Cathartes aura*) also, urubú jereba or urubú caçador |
| **urubú rei** | king vulture (*Vultur papa*) |
| **urucú** | a bush or low tree (*Bixa orellana*) from the fruit of which a red dye is made |
| **urucurí** | nut-bearing palm (*Attalea excelsa*, Mart.) |
| **urumutúm** | a type of curassow (*Nothocrax urumutum*) |
| **vargem** | riverine zone subject to periodic overflow |
| **Yurupari** | devil (l.g.) |

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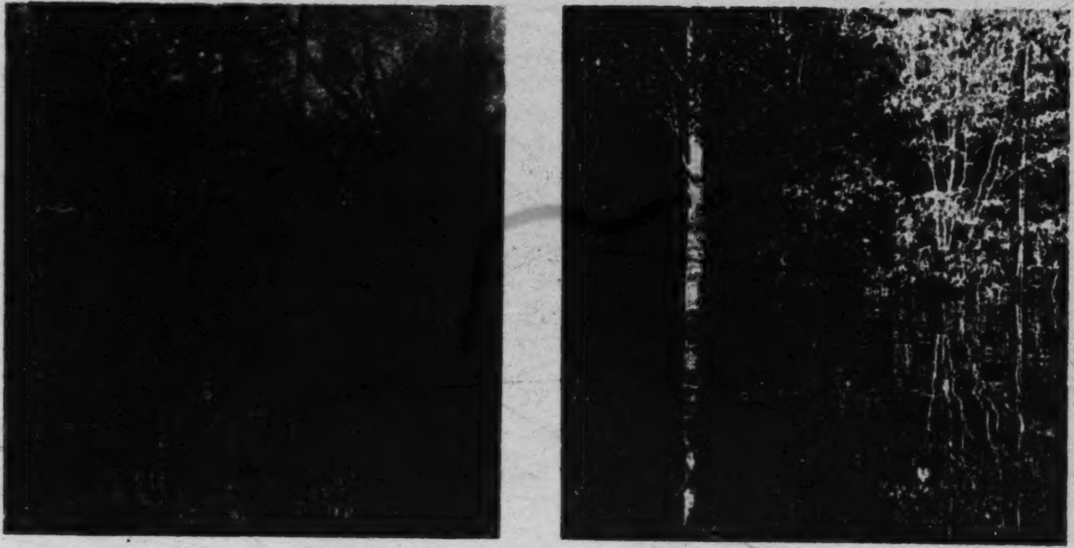
[P.171]



a

b

IGAPÓ IN THE TUKUNA HABITAT

# PLATE 2

Children of mëö'tɨna (pl. 3, a), Igarapé da Rita. *a.* Genezio vanö'kɨ, aged twenty-five. *b.* Manoel nuⁿë'tɨ-kɨ, aged sixteen. *c.* Avellina čita'na, aged twenty. *d.* Beloca bɛ'ːʔ-në-na, aged twelve.

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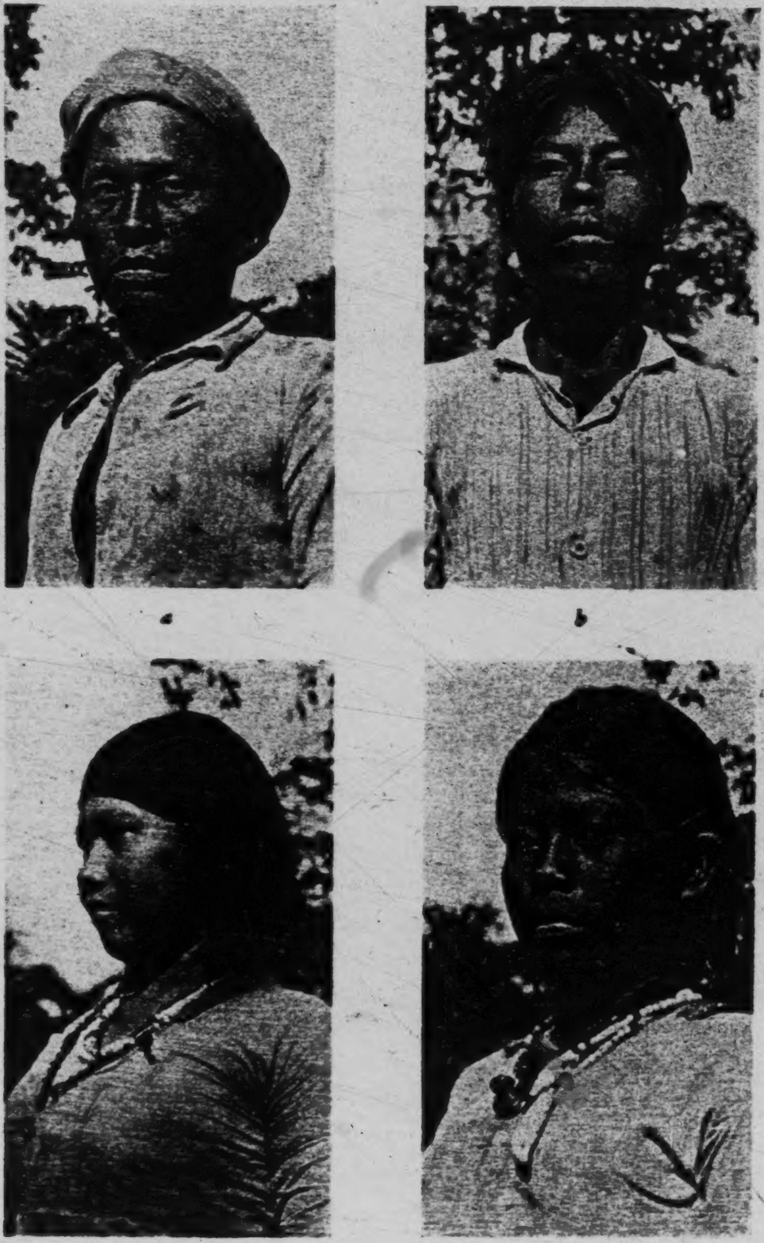

a b c d

CHILDREN OF mëë'tina, IGARAPÉ DA RITA

## PLATE 3

142

*a.* mëë'tjan, Igarapé da Rita, aged fifty. *b.* Josefa dya'ẽimena, aged twelve, Igarapézinho. 302
*c.* Joaquim gü-vë', aged eighteen, Igarapézinho, brother of Josefa. *d*, Julio dyüë', Igarapézinho, 291
aged fourteen, brother of Josefa.

[551]

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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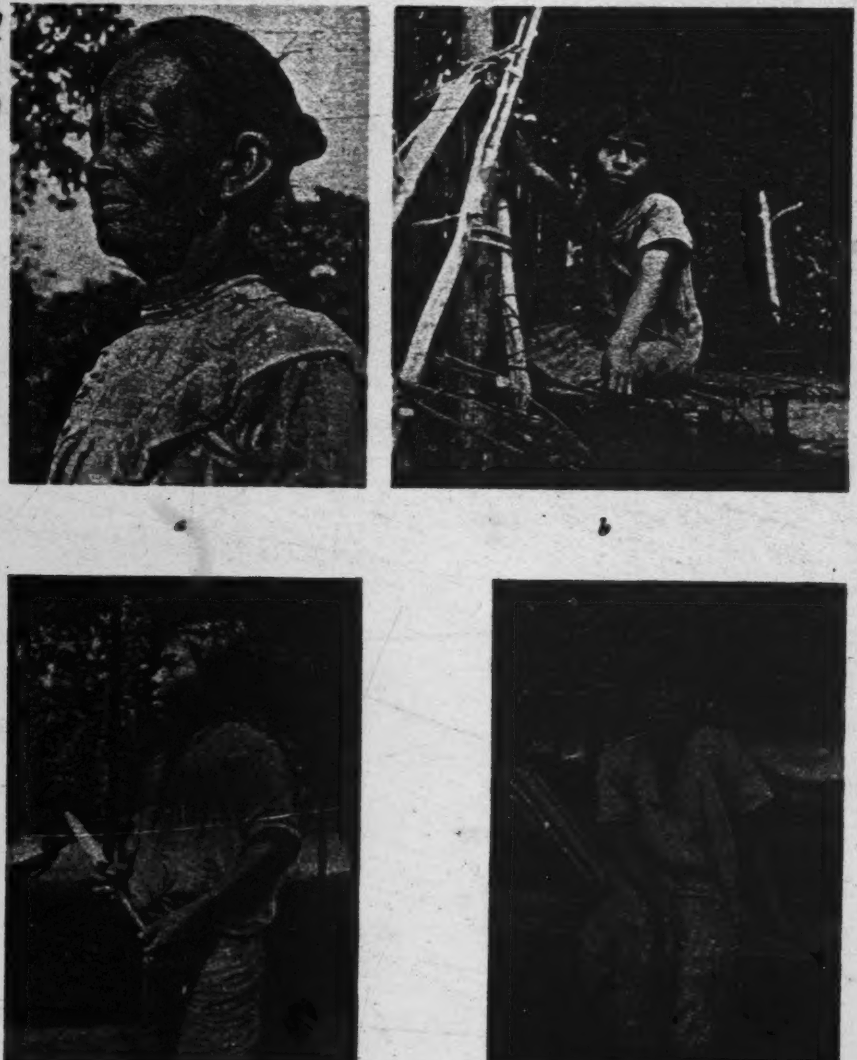

mõẽ'tina IGARAPÉ DA RITA; THREE YOUNG PEOPLE FROM IGARAPÉZINHO

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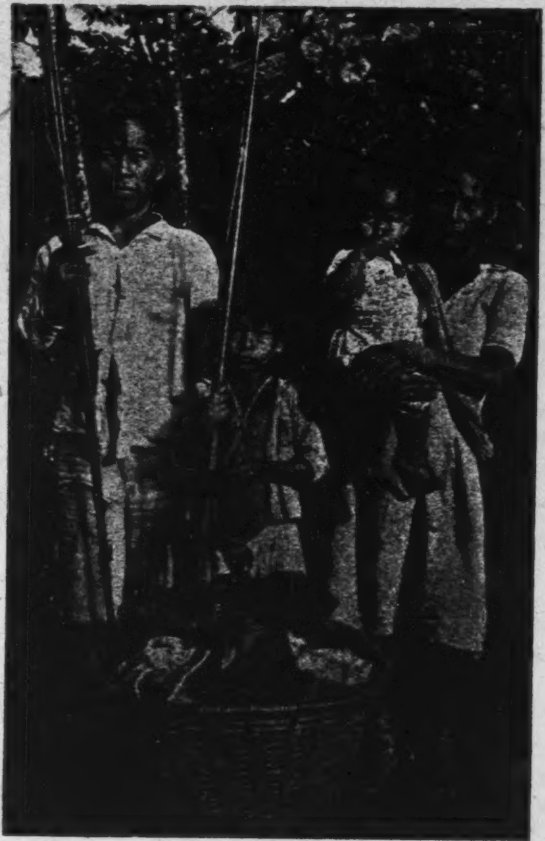

A VISITING FAMILY

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1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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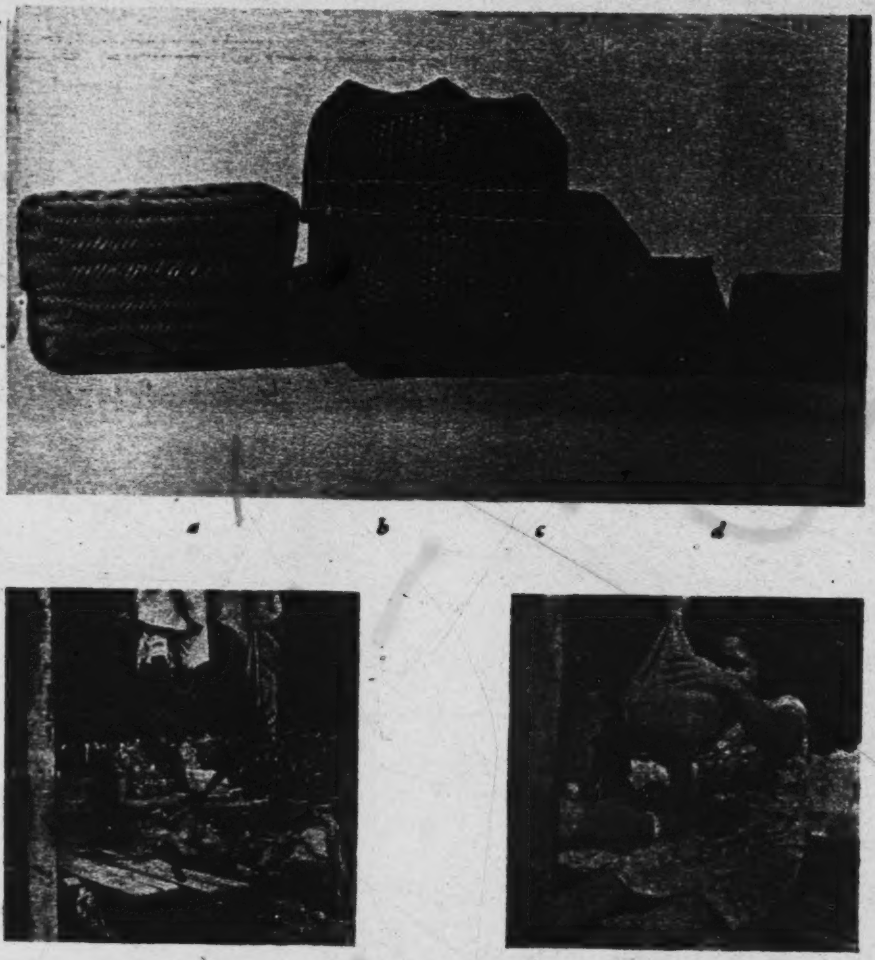

BASKETRY

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323
415

PLATE 6

Pottery. *a.* Vase used in thickening curare. *b.* Water jar. *c.* Jug with figure of frog in relief. *d, f.* Plates. *e.* Decorated vase for trifles. *g.* Small decorated vessels. *a–c*, × ⅛; *d–f*, × ¼; *g*, × ⅓.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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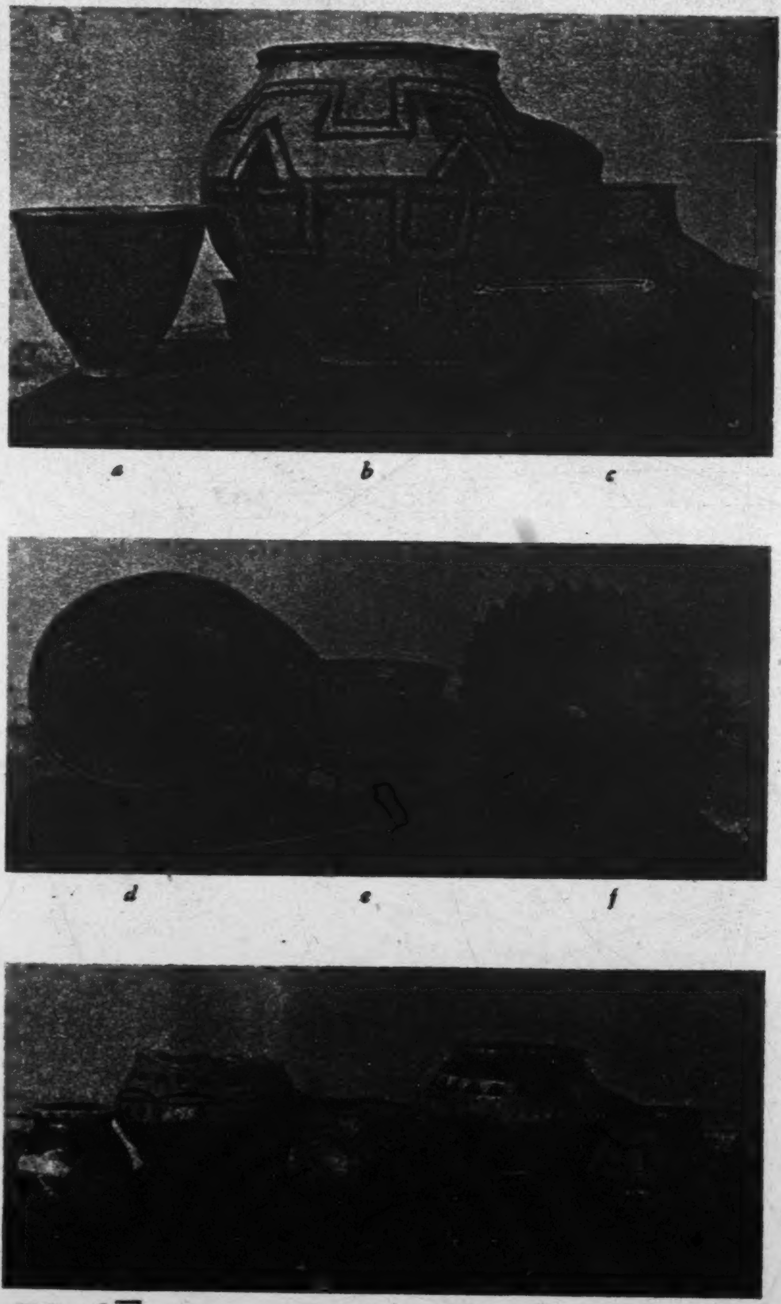
531
415



[P.181]

POTTERY

## PLATE 7

Weaving and pottery techniques. *a–d*. Weaving technique used for feathered armband. *a*. Arrangement for raising alternately the odd and the even warp threads. *b*. Method of raising the warp threads with the point of the shuttle. *c*. Spiral frame and needle used in making net bag. *d*. Method of making small thread bag used as cartridge belt. *e*. Weaving a forehead band for net bag. *f*. Making pottery.

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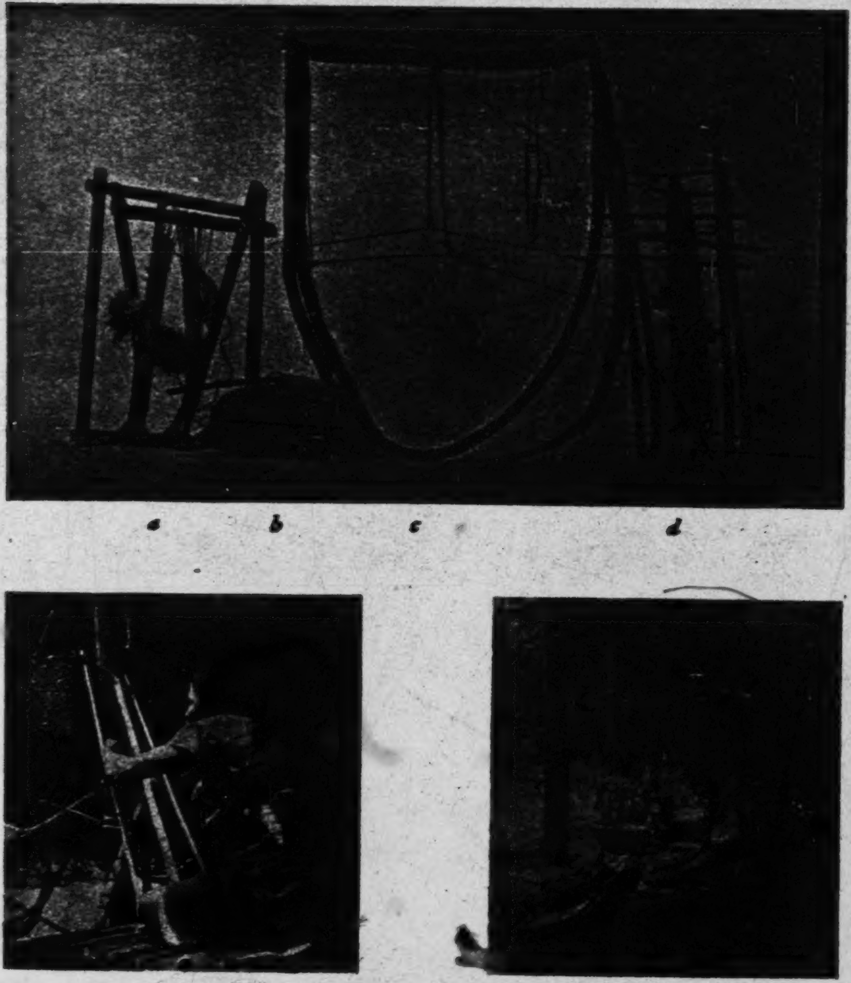
[516]
[323]



a b c d

e f

WEAVING AND POTTERY TECHNIQUES

286
482
854

PLATE 8

Carrying sling (tipoia). *a.* Carrying sling on the loom. *b.* Child in double sling. *c.* Device for alternately raising and lowering the odd and the even warp threads when weaving sling.

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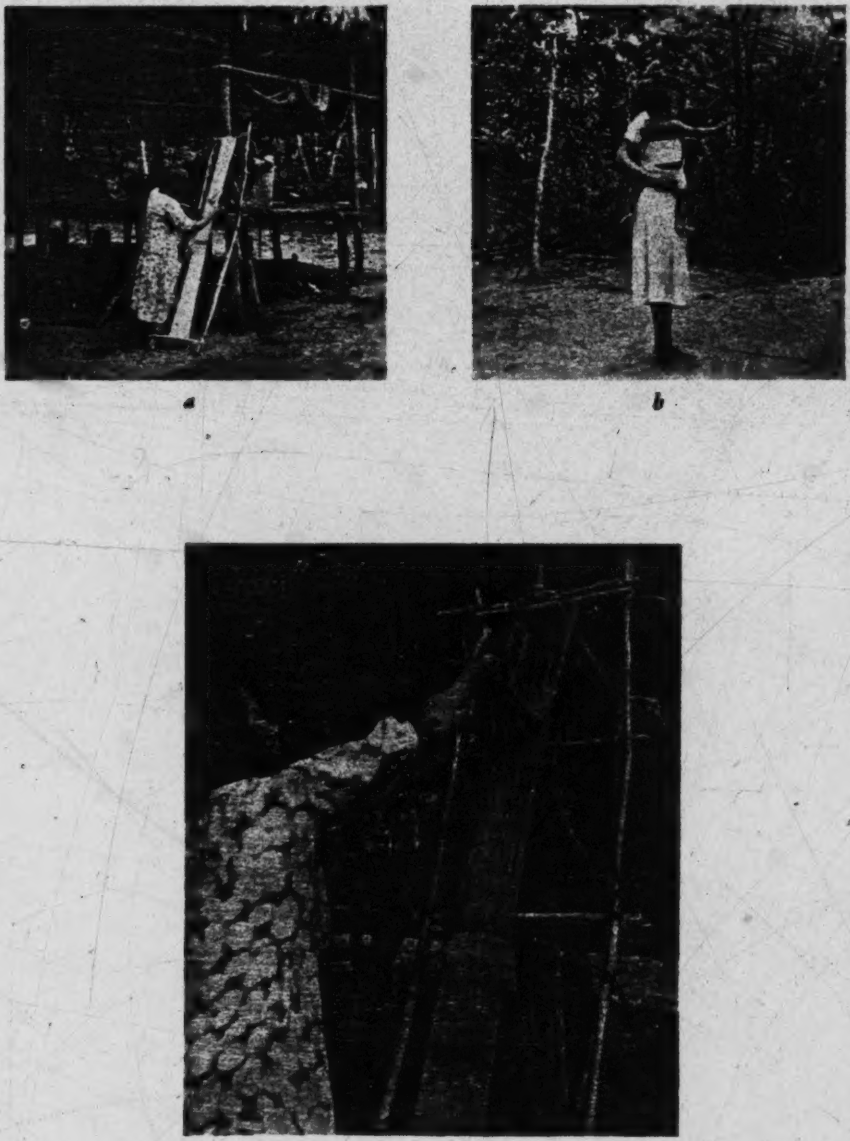

CARRYING SLING; WEAVING TECHNIQUE

PLATE 9 532

Wood carvings. *a*. Capabira with young. *b*. Dolls of muirapiranga wood. *c*. Small bench in the form 322
of a tortoise. *d*. Tucunaré and ray. *a*, *b*, *d*, × 2/9; *c*, × 7/12. 524

352

532
322

[524]

[352]

a

b

c

d

WOOD CARVINGS

PLATE 10

String figures; canoe construction; weaving a quiver. *a–d*, String figures. *a, c*, "Hammock ornament." *b*, "Ray." *d*, "Paxiuba root." *e*, Construction of a dugout canoe. *f*, Calixto dauerü'kï weaving a quiver. *a–d*, × 1/6.

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1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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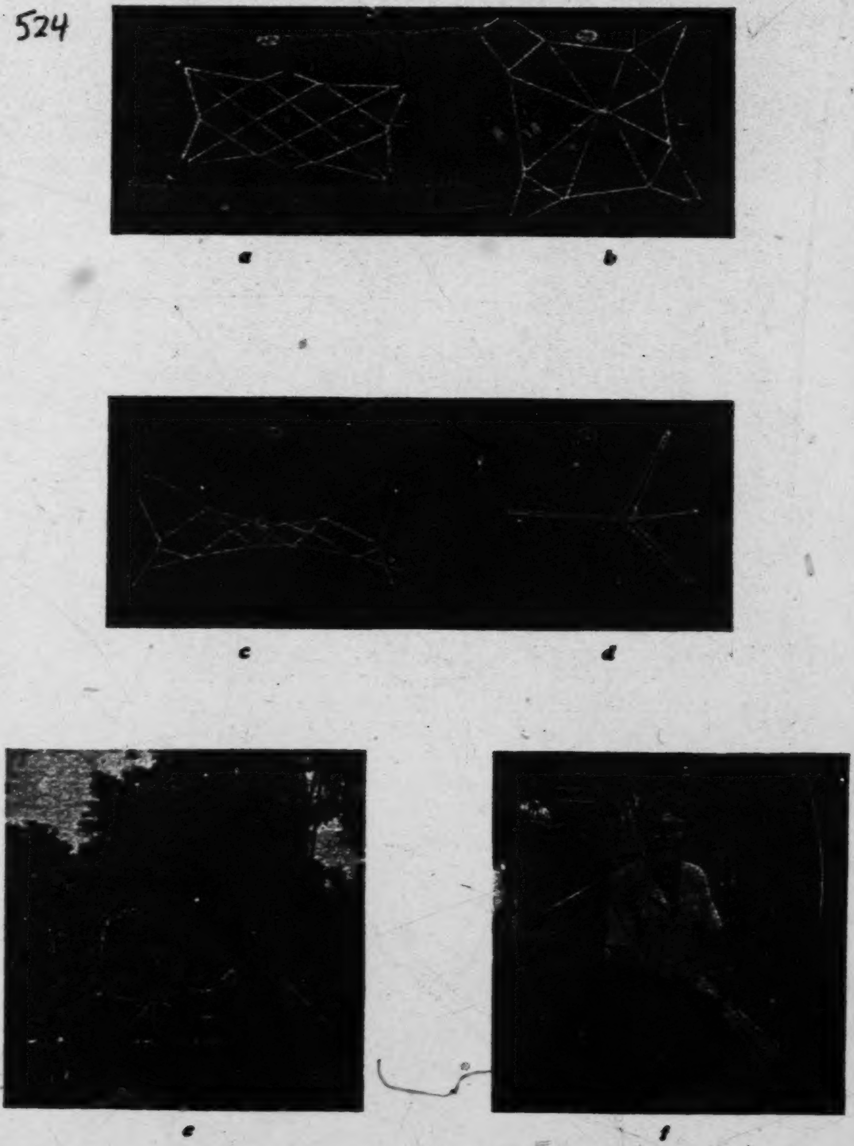

STRING FIGURES; CONSTRUCTION OF A CANOE; CALIXTO daucuru'ki

PLATE 11 881

Girls' puberty ceremony. *a.* The seclusion room. *b.* Making the varëkį's bracelets. *c.* Carrying the remains of the feast to the river. 285
353
306
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[285]
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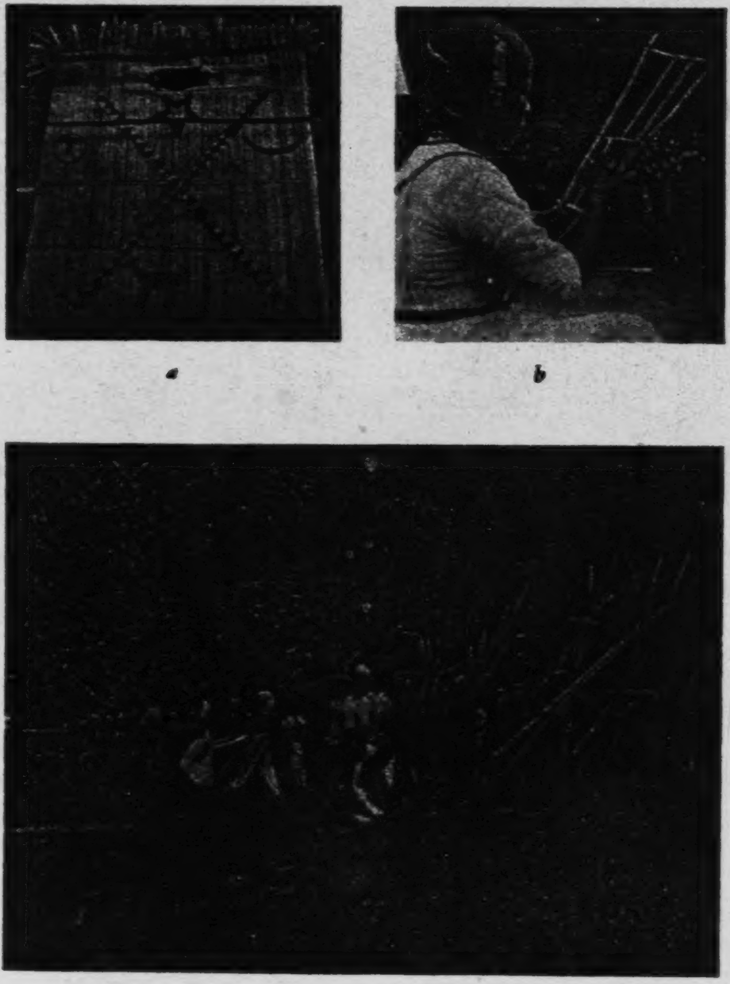
[306]
[482]



*a* *b*

*c*

FEATURES OF THE GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

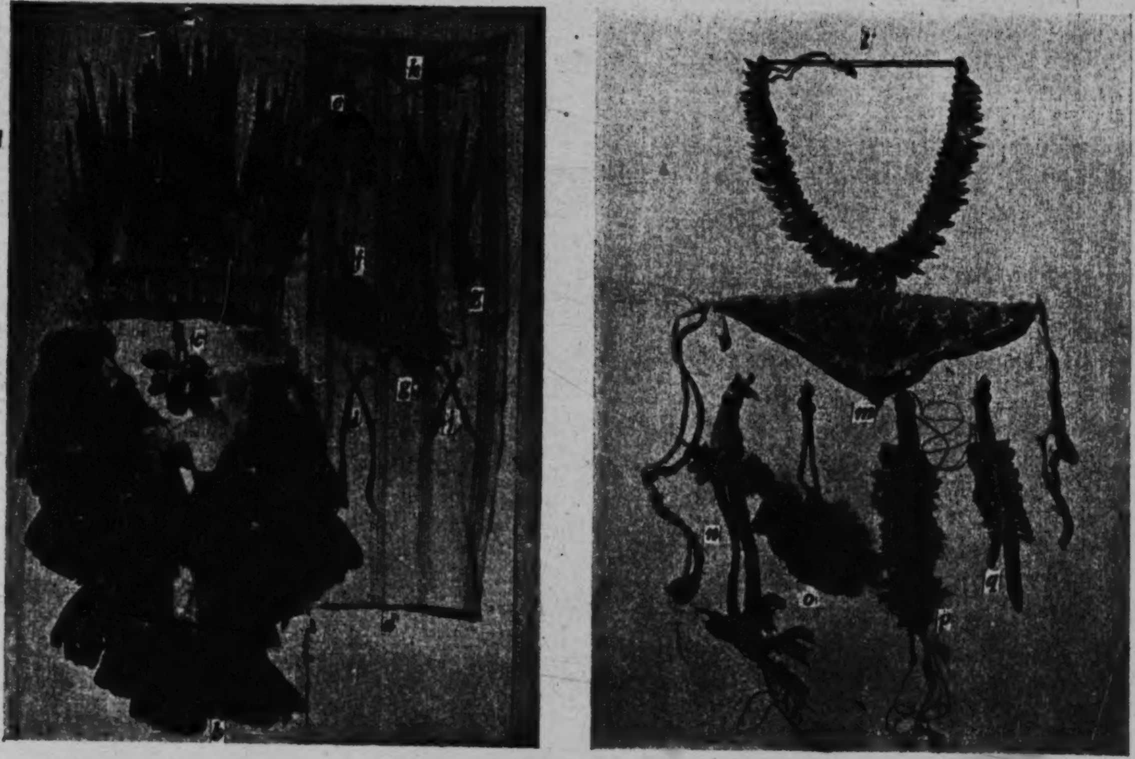
### PLATE 12

Ornaments for ceremonies. *a–k*. Girl's ornaments for puberty ceremony. *a–k*. × 1/12. *a*. Feather crown. *b*. Cords with toucan feathers. *c*. Snailshell bells. *d*. Cotton tanga. *e*. Armband. *f*. Tufts of feathers for armband. *g*. White tururí feathers for armband. *h*. Tail feathers of the macaw for armband. *i*. Knee band, *j*. Ankle band. *k*. Ear ornaments. *l–q*. Boy's ornaments for hair-plucking ceremony. *l–q*. × 1/4. *l*. Monkey-tooth necklace. *m*. Small tanga of tururí cloth. *n*. Armband. *o*. Feather tuft for armband. *p*. Knee band. *q*. Ankle band. 301

[P. 193]

301

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952 SQ20 Tucuma SQ20



ORNAMENTS FOR CEREMONIES

## PLATE 13

Necklaces of tucumã and anajá-nut figurines. Figurines in necklace at top represent the following: *a.* Hummingbird. *b.* Small bird. *c.* Maguary. *d.* Angel with a tail? (seen in a print). *e, h.* Buzzard. *f.* Small bird. *g.* Man. *i, j, k.* Cigana. *l.* Armadillo. × ⅓. *m.* Necklace of figurines. × ⅓. 301 532

**1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952**

**SQ20 Tucuna SQ20**

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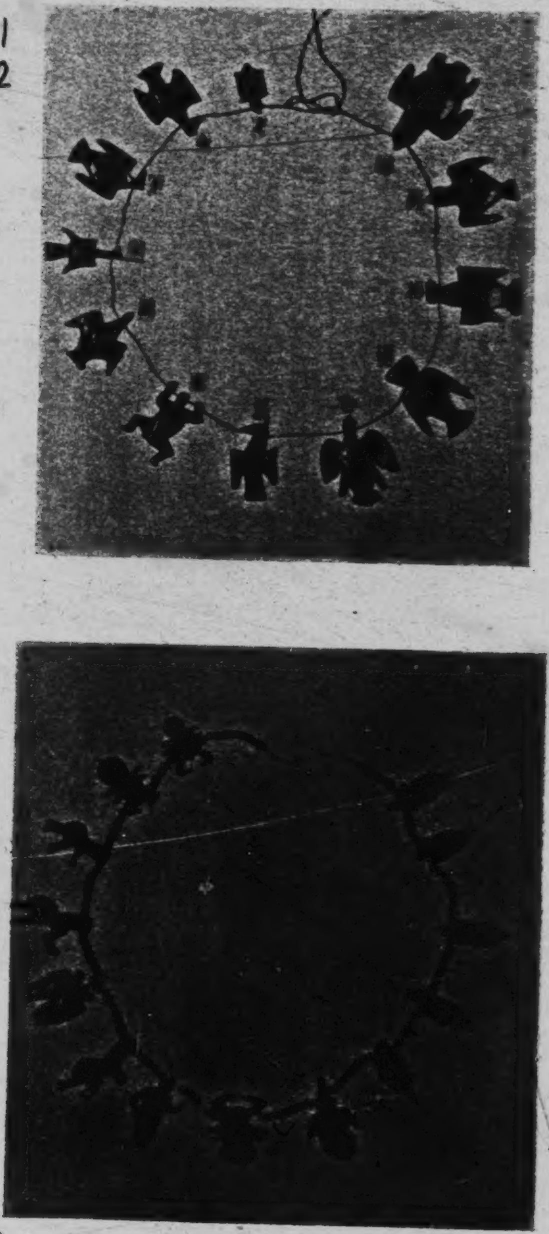

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NECKLACES OF FIGURINES

PLATE 14

Dance staves and musical instruments. *a–f*, Dance staves. *g*, ba:'/ma. *h–j*, Drums. × 1/12.

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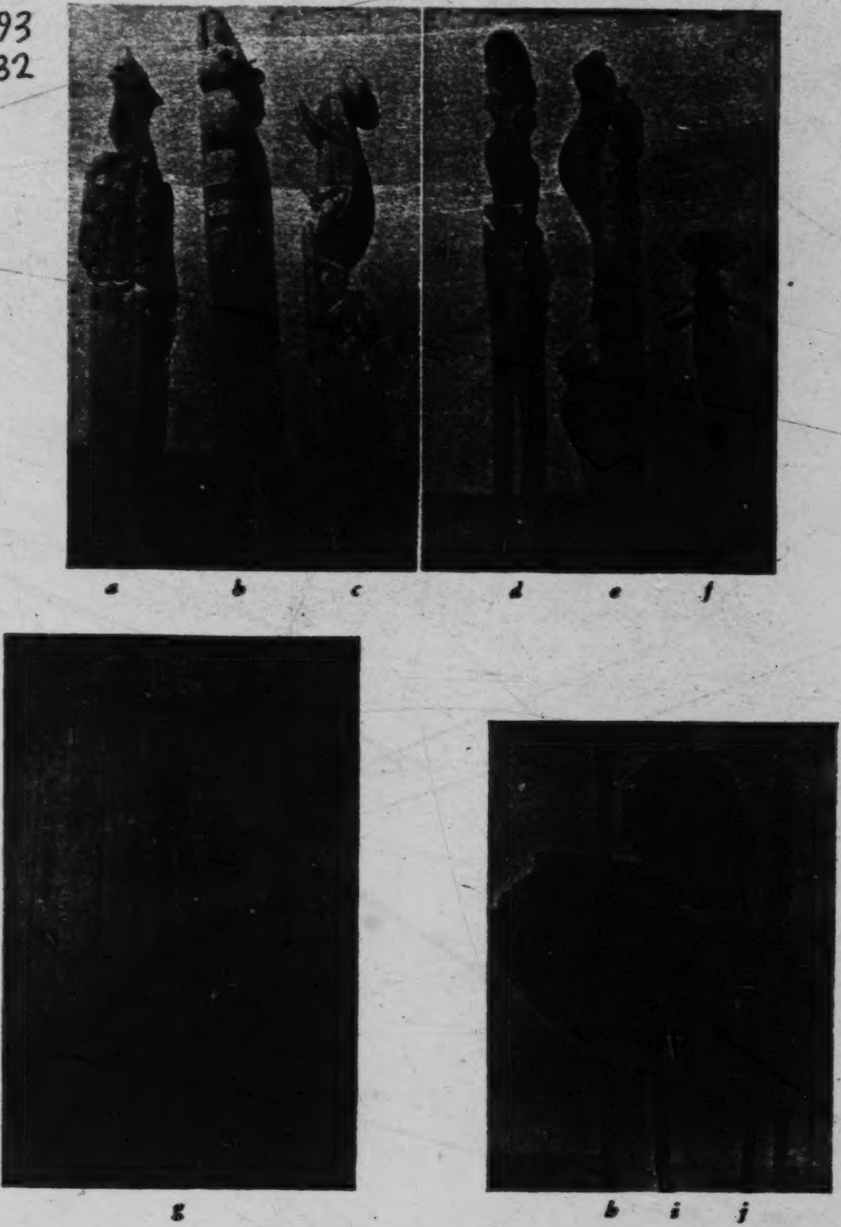
293
532

[534]



DANCE STAVES AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

## PLATE 15

881

Girl (varëkɨ) at puberty ceremony. *a.* Girl with a cloth round her plucked head. *b.* Girl without the headcloth; the hair is beginning to grow again. *c.* Girl among her relatives. Nino ŷvënɨ"kɨ, stands behind girl. 302

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

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[302]

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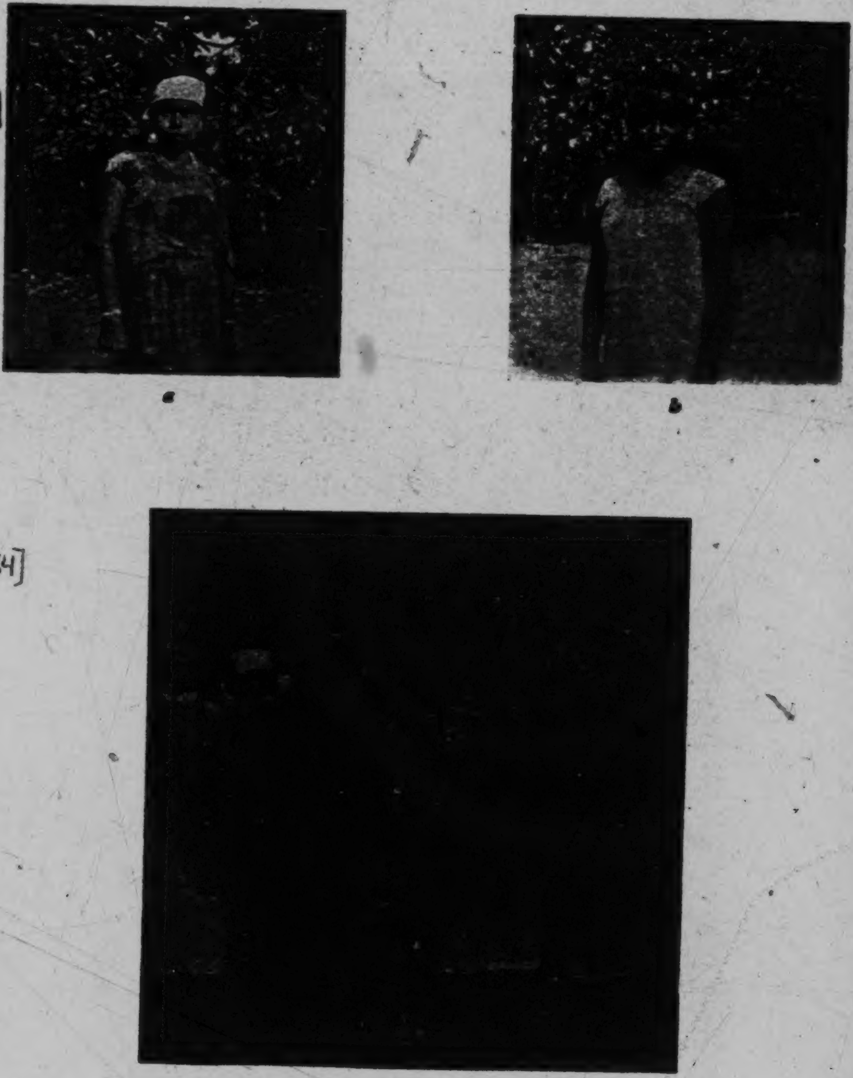

a b c

GIRL AT PUBERTY CEREMONY

PLATE 16

292
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[534]

Masquerade costumes and accessories. *a.* ɔ'ma, the demon of the wind. *b.* Otter. *c.* dyë'vaë. *d.* ɔ'ma's whistle (left); "son" of tɔï' (right). *d*, × 1/6.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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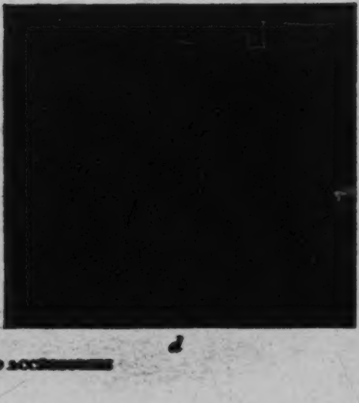
*a*

*b*

[534]

*c*



*d*

MASQUERADE COSTUMES AND ACCESSORIES

[P.201]

PLATE 17

292
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346

Masquerade costumes and uaricána enclosure. *a.* čavį' (maize). *b.* bẽru', the female butterfly demon. *c.* Enclosure where ceremonial musical instruments (uaricána) are kept.

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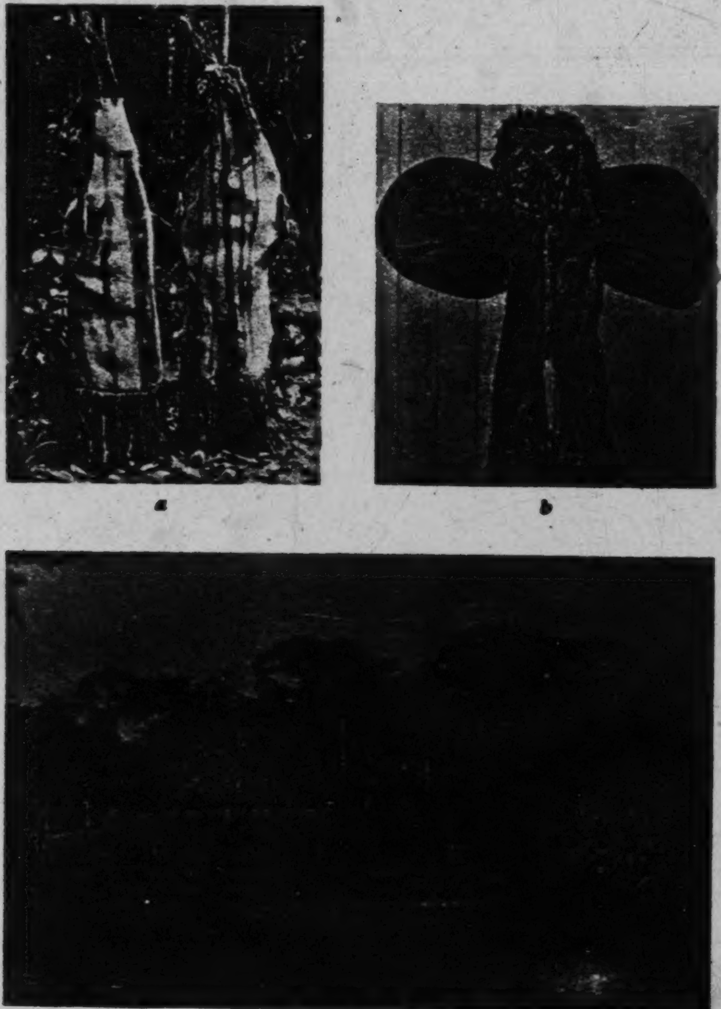
532

346



a

b

c

MASQUERADE COSTUMES AND THE UARICÁNA ENCLOSURE

PLATE 18

Masquerade costumes. *a.* tə|' (caiarára monkey). *b.* ma'vɨ, the araparyrana tree. *c.* tə|' and taikɨrü' (prego monkey).

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532

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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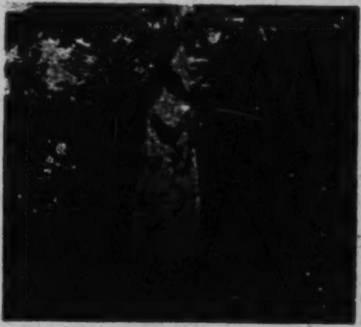

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MASQUERADE COSTUMES

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### THE SOLIMÕES RIVER

### KEY TO MAP

*Rivers and Streams*

R42 akiti'
R35 aru-pane
R37 baruri'
R47 Cabeceira do Taxy
R48 Cano do Taxy
R29 čau/matü'
R31 daurē-ki
R44 doča'neiª
R17 dye'ina
R26 dye'naka
R33 ā/ti
R46 ē/tiā-ki
R19 ēwarē
R52 Igarapé Agú
R16 Ig. Agrã
R3 Ig. Berury
R15 Ig. Caldeirão
R32 Ig. Calixto
R7 Ig. Capacete
R10 Ig. Capitão
R11 Ig. Caranã
R45 Ig. da Rita
R12 Ig. Irinéu
R53 Ig. Manacá
R2 Ig. Marinassú
R8 Ig. Nuáka
R43 Ig. Panapaná
R14 Ig. Piranha
R6 Ig. Preto (1)
R41 Ig. Preto (2)
R4 Ig. São Antonio
R9 Ig. São Jorge
R40 Ig. São Paulo
R13 Ig. Surubim
R51 Ig. Tauapé
R28 kuaiª-ti
R38 kwaiča'ña-ti
R39 Mãia-ti
R22 Mã-ti
R24 Mbãi
R27 mē'kiraª
R34 mē'-para
R36 naª/ne'neã
R21 napa-ti
R23 pačare'e
R49 Paraná Apára
R50 Paraná das Panellas
R1 Rio Javary
R5 Rio Tacana
R30 taučini-ki
R25 tau-i
R18-tawe'ēã
R20 tine-ti

*Tukuna Dwellings*

T14 Augusto Mosario
T4 Antº Casemiro
T8 Calixto
T9 Cap. Antonio
T2 Cap. Felix
T13 Custodio
T11 Derê
T5 Julião
T1 J. Tauari
T12 Nino
T10 ñora'a
T3 Ponciano
T6 Surára (tapera)
T7 taivegí'ne

*Towns and Settlements*

S11 Açacaio
S6 Aljubarata
S16 A. Ramiro
S9 Belém
S5 Capacete
S3 J. Mendes
S14 Laureano Müller
S8 Marupiára
S13 M. Geissler
S18 Mission
S4 Moysés
S10 Palmares
S15 Paraizo
S1 Ramon Castillo
S12 Stª Cruz
S2 Tabatinga
S7 Tupy
S17 Vª Velha

*Lakes*

L1 Cajary
L2 Curanã
L3 Lago das Panellas

*Islands*

I6 Ilha Cajary
I5 Ilha Capiahy
I7 Ilha Cariny
I4 Ilha Guaribas
I1 Ilha Sururuá
I3 Ilha Tauará
I2 Ilha Tubarões

# 116

116 **TEXTS**--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 539

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

# HANDBOOK
# OF
# SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

## Volume 3

## THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

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[Title page]

# THE TUCUNA

By Curt Nimuendaju

## HABITAT, HISTORY, AND LANGUAGE

The *Tucuna* (*Tukuna, Ticuna*), not to be confused with the *Tucano,* 131
occupied the jungle tracts of the tributaries of the northern side of the [101]
Amazon-Solimões River from long. 71°15′ (Peruaté Island) to 68°
40′ W., and the upper course of the streams on the opposite side of the
watershed of the Putumayo-Iça River (map 1, *No. 4;* map 5). They
avoided the banks of the Amazon-Solimões, fearing the *Omagua,* their [648]
traditional enemies of the islands. When the latter disappeared, the
*Tucuna* spread out over the islands and shores of the Solimões as far as
the Auatí-Paraná River (long. 66°30′ W.).

The country is flat, covered by Amazonian jungle. A wide strip 133
bordering on the Solimões River is subject to great periodical floods.

The *Tucuna,* inconspicuous in the history of the Amazon, were first 175
mentioned in 1641 by Cristobal d'Acuña.

Rivet (1912 b) designated the *Tucuna* language as "un dialecte arawak 114
très corropu." Only a part of his list of lexicological similarities appears 197
to be valid, especially as he lacked sufficient reference material on the
*Tucuna* language. There is, however, no doubt that the *Tucunan* vocabulary has a number of elements which were borrowed from the *Arawakan* languages, as noted also by Brinton (1901) and Tessmann (1930). *Tupí* influence is greater than Rivet supposed, being revealed in the pronouns, which he noted but did not evaluate. Correspondences with *Yurí* are fewer, but not unimportant. It is regrettable that there is not more phonetic material on this language. The *Tucanan* element, which Tessmann states is second in importance, is, as Rivet also noted, very weak. The *Mura* element postulated by Loukotka lacks absolute proof.

Martius called attention to 11 *Ge* elements in *Tucunan;* Rivet added five more examples. (Both Martius and Rivet include *Camacán* and *Masacarian* in the *Ge* family.) But, of Rivet's 16 *Ge* elements, only 4 are valid, 3 being formed of *Camacán* elements and only one of *Ge* elements.

There is, therefore, insufficient evidence for Brinton's, Rivet's, and Loukotka's inclusion of *Tucunan* in the *Arawakan* family. For the present, it is advisable to follow Chamberlain and Tessmann in considering it a separate language.

## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main *Tucuna* crops are bitter manioc, sweet manioc (macaxera), cara (*Dioscorea*), and maize. The last is planted with some ceremony. There are also at least three species of edible tubers which are not used by civilized people.

226 **Fishing and hunting.**—Fish, of great importance to the *Tucuna*, are
227 taken with four- to nine-pronged javelins, arrows, harpoon arrows, baskets, weirs, traps, and a drug made of timbó. The Indians fish almost daily from childhood. On the Solimões, they are expert fishers of pirarucú, an important article of commerce.

224 Hunting today is unimportant, since game has been depleted to fill
177 the demand for hides. The *Tucuna* now use firearms, but formerly
411 employed the bow and arrow, spear, and blowgun. They also use pitfalls and several types of snares and traps. The blowgun, once the principal weapon, is disappearing.

222 **Gathering.**—The wild burity, bacaba, patauá, and açahy palms are of
262 great economic value. Some *Tucuna* plant Brazil nut trees near their
[245] houses. They eat certain frogs, Coleoptera larvae, and female red ants at hiving time. They like wild honey but keep no bees.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—The *Tucuna* raise a few chickens, but do not want hogs or other domestic animals because they dirty the premises. They keep young wild mammals and birds uncaged.

412 **Food preparation.**—Instead of a mortar, the *Tucuna* use a trough
252 with a half-moon-shaped rocker of thick and heavy wood.

The making of manioc flour, introduced by the Neo-Brazilians, became
[177] one of the principal sources of income among the *Tucuna*.
[434]

### HOUSES

342 The old houses had a small rectangular central portion with a short ridge pole mounted on props. Each end was semicircular, so that the ground plan was oval or nearly round. The walls were of a man's height, and were made of boards of paxiuba or of straw. The house could be sealed tight against mosquitoes. Families occupied the lateral corridors, the central space being reserved for ceremonies. All houses were spacious and well built.

177 The introduction of mosquito nets made house walls unnecessary.
342 People slept on bunks along the walls, covered with mosquito nets, in-
352 stead of in hammocks. Many houses were built without the semicircular
513 extremities but with a longer central part, being like an open rectangular ranch house with a ridge pole. When the tribe occupied the flood plains of the shores and islands, they built houses on piles.

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[292]

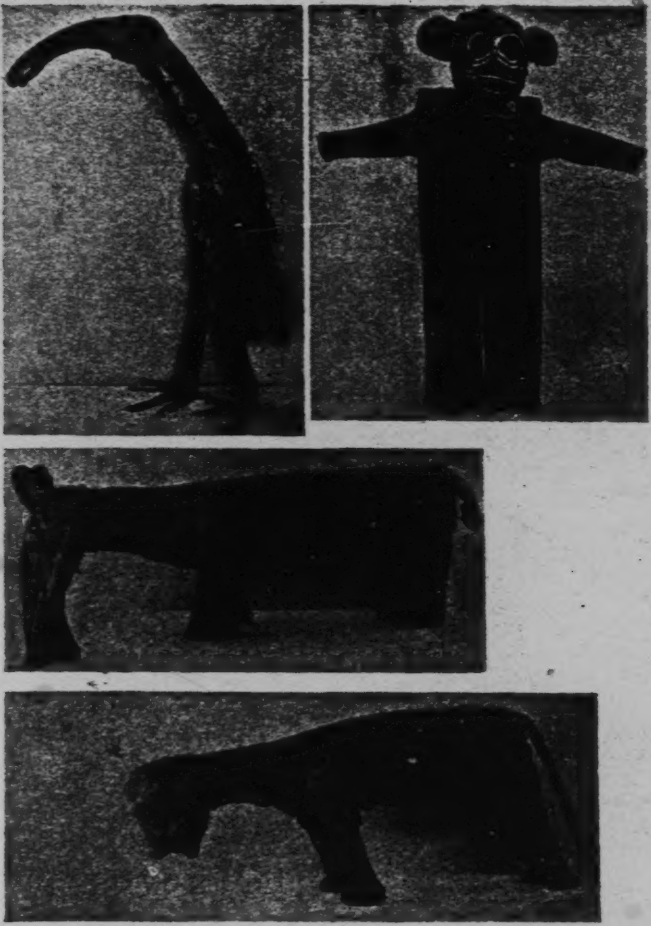

Plate 64.—Tucuna objects of bark cloth. *Top, left:* Jaburú. *Top, right:* Garment with mask. *Center:* Mythological animal. *Bottom:* Jaguar. (Animals are about 4 ft. long; other objects to same scale.) (Courtesy Curt Nimuendajú and Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Belém.)

[p. 714 A]

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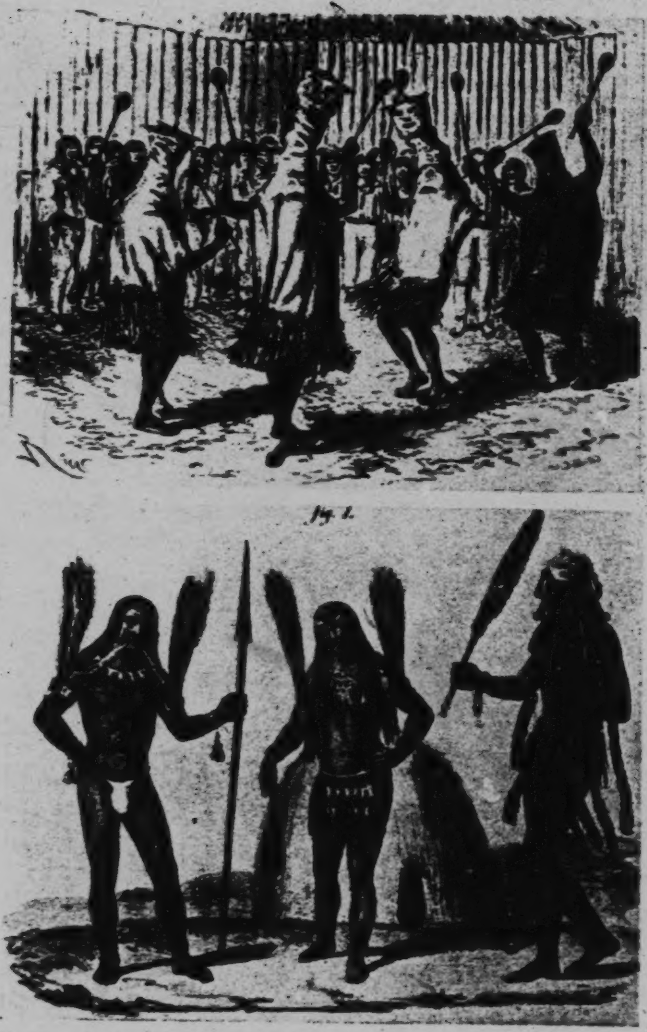

PLATE 65.—Tucuna Indians of the 19th century. *Top:* Part of girl's puberty ceremony. (After Marcoy, 1869.) *Bottom: Tucuna* of the upper Amazon; a *Mundurucú* woman in center. (After Osculati, 1854.)

[p. 714 B]

Each residence has a proper name, given by the owner at a special 552
feast. Houses are usually clean. 356

**Household furniture.**—Hammocks are made by a netlike technique of 513
tucum thread of different colors; they are now used only for daytime 286
resting. Clothes are kept in large baskets.

On the struts and rafters of the house one can often see remnants of 352
the paraphernalia of feasts: masks, turury fringes, drums, and dance
sticks. Ears of maize hang from the frame of the house or are piled
in the loft.

The *Tucuna* never build a fire or eat in the dwelling. The kitchen
is always a small separate house. Fire was formerly produced by drilling [343]
a horizontal piece of wood, which was placed over two cross pieces. There 372
is, however, a tradition that even in old times they made fire by striking
two stones.

Fire fans are made exclusively of large bird wings. [412]

The *Tucuna* have plenty of small four-legged stools, either rectangular 352
or oval, made from a single piece of wood, sometimes elaborately carved 532
in the shape of a chelonian or batrachian.

### TRANSPORTATION

Formerly, the *Tucuna* traveled largely on land, although on the small 501
streams they used small primitive canoes made of paxiuba palm. From
the *Omagua* they learned to make "ubá" type dugout canoes, and from [177]
the Neo-Brazilians to make "casco" type dugouts which were widened
by heating them over a fire. These are sometimes provided with round
shields (rodellas) and gunwales. *Tucuna* canoes are so well made that
civilized people seek them. Paddles have crutch handles and a round
blade with a large point. The blade and the crosspiece on the end of
the handle, but not the handle, are invariably painted black.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION

Formerly, both sexes trimmed their hair slightly over the brows, and 302
used a comb made of twigs held between two parallel sticks.

Both sexes used to pierce their ear lobes; only women do so now. 304
Through the hole they usually wore little plates of white wood; on feast 301
days they inserted small rods with feathers on the front end, from
which a small metal plate hung. Women's plates were triangular, men's
moon-shaped. Long ago they pierced the nasal septum, through which
they had put a little rod of *Gynerium*. They also used to tattoo the [174]
face, which at one time may have indicated clans. There are still recollections
of circumcision of girls, but not of men, as described by Father [114]
Noronha in 1768.

291 Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in
front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women
[174] perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth
of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore
301 bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At
feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia*
292 net, or large diadems.

## MANUFACTURES

532 **Bark cloth.**—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark
287 cloth (pl. 64).

285 **Basketry.**—Clothes baskets are made of uarumá stalks with a round
opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over
the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have
a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all
sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried
[482] in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical
baskets of uarumá stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tumpline. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

323 **Pottery.**—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans,
[531] and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments.
Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger
[776] its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western
rainbow.

415 **Gourds.**—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear de-
531 signs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes
in fantastic shapes.

411 **Weapons.**—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to
hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The
hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the
arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅔ m.) long. Spears have
three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners;
(2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are
still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over
10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison
[278] is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manu-
[178] facture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten.
[231] Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre-
[173] Columbian.

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

181 The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends,
honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians
[762] to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to
suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than 181
blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. [733]
In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst
qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit [648]
one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for [574]
their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although
hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have 177
good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial
independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments
(rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

**Moieties and clans.**—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, 616
unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and
west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other 614
has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward
distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments
on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between [551]
clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely
to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan.
A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth. [553]

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in
1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin 582
against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his 684
life and by annihilating his soul after his death. [776]

## LIFE CYCLE

**Birth and childhood.**—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who 842
gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially 847
when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for
sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is
a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death. [673]

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near 844
the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both
parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children 846
are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are 855
double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports 482
its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with 852
urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky.
At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when
it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain [304]
authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months [302]
later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is
trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.

861 More than among other tribes, *Tucuna* children receive corporal punishment,
824 especially with the external application of nettle flowers that are
grown for this purpose at the edge of the yard. They play with dolls
524 carved of muirapiranga, figures of animals, little canoes, small bows and
arrows, and buzz-disks of gourd shells.

173 **Boys' puberty observances.**—There is a tradition that in former times,
881 young men were initiated when their voices changed, being secluded and
then perhaps formally admitted to the secrets of the megaphone (tá/ki)
through an application of snuff called ká/vi, which is still used occasionally.

114 There are no vestiges of homosexuality, as claimed by Tessmann (1930,
838 p. 563).

881 **Girls' puberty rites.**—At her first menstruation, a girl is secluded in
the house loft. This is not so cruel as certain travelers (Bates, 1863, 2:406)
[114] proclaim. Every girl submits willingly, convinced that her peculiar condition
[626] requires it and that its omission would be dangerous, as she is surrounded
by invisible "immortals" and demons, who seek contact with her
and at times cause extraordinary supernatural experiences. Many stories
told to a girl in seclusion illustrate this dangerous state.

The people hasten to prepare for the girl a circular seclusion room
[342] adjacent to the east or west wall of the house, according to her moiety.
[532] They decorate the walls with painted bands and lines, and figures of the
sun, moon, morning star, and deer, the last a symbol of vigilance and not
a "totem."

Preparations for the feast sometimes require months. They prepare
[262] roast meat and beverages and make the house ready. The girl's father is
host, but her paternal uncle and his wife direct all ceremonies concerning
her person, being wholly responsible for her. Friends and acquaintances
[574] receive two invitations to the feast; the second, which specifies the date,
[202] is issued to the sound of the bark trumpet, which is carried hidden in the
[534] canoe.

In the exterior portion of the house, corresponding to the girl's seclusion
[534] room, a long fence is made with straw walls to conceal the megaphone
(tá/ki), its statues, and the bark trumpet which operate behind it each
night of the feast and are removed before daybreak and hidden underwater
in the creek. People are chosen and invited to operate these instruments
by the head of the house when the time comes; there is no permanent
assignment. Inside the fence of the megaphone, snuff (ká/vi) or tobacco
[276] powder is taken with several ingredients (but not parica). The snuff is
kept in a snail shell and blown into the nose by means of an apparatus
made of a tubular bone and two quills of royal sparrow hawk feathers,
or by means of a simple taboca (bamboo) tube. Boys of 7 or older customarily
[562] are given snuff, after which they may see and touch the instruments
[858] within the fence, which are taboo to women and to boys who have
not yet had it.

At this feast, as at the feast of children's depilation and ear piercing, 532
masks are used (pl. 65, *top*). These are made, used, and cared for by 292
the guests, who portray anything they wish, such as imaginary demons
and fantastic animals. They are in no way associated with individual [881]
persons, societies, or other groups. The masked persons customarily remain
unidentified until they deliver their masks to the host. About 90
percent of those wearing masks are men, 7 percent boys, and the remainder
girls and young women. For costume, clothing is cut and sewn from the
bast fiber of certain trees (*Ficus* sp.), sometimes in the shape of pants,
sleeves, and fringes, and at other times in the form of a tight gown without
sleeves, extending half way down the leg. The face, generally a
horrendous caricature of a demon (pl. 64, *top, right*), may be attached
to or separate from the costume. The mask representing the storm demon
is distinguished by an enormous face and a phallus nearly 18 inches (½ m.)
long. Nearly all clothes are painted with vegetable dyes. Sometimes the [386]
motif of the mask is identified by the song rather than by the appearance
of the mask, which is entirely a product of the individual's imagination.
The masked people, sometimes numbering 40 to 50, gather in a special 881
place in the woods, and go to the house in groups up to 10, some of them
running up and down at a furious pace, and others approaching slowly.
They come for a drink, then disappear to make way for another group.

At the appointed time the guests arrive at the house with their families,
sometimes numbering more than 300 persons. They are received inside
along the walls, the center being left open for the ceremonies. When all [302]
have assembled, they go to the kitchen to be painted with urucú and to have
their faces decorated with royal sparrow hawk down. After everyone
receives a piece of roast meat, all return in a solemn procession to the house
and put their meat on a stand on the side of the seclusion room. On the
other side are the vessels of beverages. The feast now begins. Henceforth, [533]
everyone goes around the central space in the house singing to the accompaniment
of small drums and carrying his dancing stick on his shoulder. [534]

Early in the morning, the girl is brought through a door from the
seclusion room to the fenced place around the megaphone where, with [302]
her face turned to the proper cardinal point, she is adorned with genipa
and white turury that have been ceremonially prepared. Before sunset, [301]
she is decorated in the seclusion room with streamers of royal sparrow
hawk plumage, a long macaw feather diadem, feather bracelets with white
turury fringes, strings of feathers made of toucan abdomens and tails,
shell bells with bone clappers, and ear pegs, which are prepared by skilled
persons and tried out by her relatives. The women fan her with broad
leaves. She then stands in her room facing the place where the megaphone
and trumpet are sounded and scratching herself with a little stick. The [262]
guests in the main room are given meat and fish stew and cooked bananas.

88) Several hours after midnight, half a dozen of the girl's relatives, holding
her around the waist while her eyes are covered by the feather diadem,
[535] dance back and forth toward the wall, which is cut open with a knife so
that they finally pass through into the main room. As she is now more exposed to invisible forces, the relatives dance with her until near dawn, then slowly go outside and circle the house. At sunrise they uncover her eyes and have her throw a burning stick against a pole marked to represent the "enemy." She now walks without assistance and dances freely with the others in the house.

[302] Depilation follows. The girl sits on the tapir hide in the middle of the
room while three to six women pull out her head hair in little bunches,
[534] accompanied by a small drum (tambor) and rattle. She endures the
operation calmly, not even drink being given to alleviate the pain. Her paternal uncle in a vigorous speech then instructs her about her future duties as a marriageable girl.

The masks are now surrendered, each owner receiving a piece of roast meat. The disguises are piled around the girl, until only her head protrudes. The cloth is then ripped and the shreds thrown over the house beams. The turury cloths, which now belong to the host, are wound up and put away.

The seclusion room and roast-meat stand are dismantled. The participants divide the pieces, going in a solemn procession to toss them into
[482] the river. The girl is carried on the tapir hide held by five or six men
over their heads in the procession. She undresses, and, kneeling in
[751] shallow water where a magic arrow protects her against water demons,
she is washed by all the men who have magical powers. She then redecorates herself and joins the dancers, who perform in the house until the last drop of beverage is drunk. At the end of the feast, everyone
[522] bathes hilariously together, tossing each other into the water.

Formerly, in order to bring a large haul of fish, the girl was washed
[226] again after the feast with a solution of timbó at an appropriate spot on
[789] the creek.

Six to eight months later there is a supplementary but less ceremonial feast to trim the girl's regrown hair.

841 Subsequent menstruations entail few restrictions: a woman stays in her yard because the spirits of certain trees may injure her with an arrow and because contact with her would make a man inefficient in any undertaking.

836 **Marriage and adulthood.**—Sexual intercourse with prepubescent girls is unthinkable; with young women it brings shame on the whole family. There is no instance of ravishment. Rape is a grave offense to the parents.

584 A request for marriage is made to the girl's paternal uncle, but if the girl refuses peremptorily, she cannot be forced to marry. Public notice

is unnecessary; a boy and girl may meet at a feast and leave married at 584
the end. The wife's parents never renounce their authority over her and [591]
do not permit the husband to take her far away, which results in a certain [593]
matrilocal tendency.

Polygyny even today is considered licit, but cases of bigamy are rare. 595
In the only case known, a famous man who was both priest and chief had
three sisters as wives simultaneously. Other cases of sororate have oc- 587
curred. The levirate, also formerly frequent, was considered desirable.

Jealousy may cause violent quarrels between husband and wife, but 593
never murder and rarely divorce. Adultery, though causing scenes, is 586
insufficient reason for divorce. Guilt is always placed on the woman. The 684
father's authority in the family is great.

In case of robbery, the offended party requires restitution and sometimes 685
is extremely severe with the thief.

Injuries and death occur almost exclusively when people are drunk 672
during a feast, for alcohol stimulates certain *Tucuna* to fight. Drunken- 733
ness absolves the murderer from responsibility, but the victim's relatives
always feel resentful and hostile toward him.

A house is the property of its builder, i.e., the head of the family. The 423
clearing belongs to the woman by whom it was made.

The *Tucuna* no longer have chiefs as they are too individualistic to 622
accept authority and as the civilized people have discredited the office by 178
designating chiefs through whom they could exploit and oppress the
Indians. Formerly, chiefs of local groups were heads of large families
whose magic powers, intelligence, and ability in dealing with foreigners
gave them prestige. There was never, however, a chief for the entire
nation.

**Death.**—Until the end of the past century, the deceased and all his 764
ornaments were placed in a large chicha jar which was covered with a
vessel, buried in a cemetery, and the site sometimes marked with a rod of
muirapiranga. Well-liked people sometimes were buried in the house.
They put a little food, beverage, and a fire on the grave, periodically
renewing it. Tessmann (1930, p. 564) incorrectly attributed secondary [114]
burial to the *Tucuna*.

## WARFARE

The *Tucuna* are not warlike. They defended themselves against the 721
*Omagua*, their principal enemies, and drove them to the banks of the 648
Solimões River only when the latter had invaded their lands. They fought
with arrows, poisoned spears, and round tapir-hide shields, and protected [411]
their paths with poisoned caltrops. They did not take prisoners or keep
trophies from slain enemy. They never fought civilized people, except to [727]
avenge personal insults.

## ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

532 **Art.**—The *Tucuna* were fine sculptors. Their carved figures on the
dancing sticks, stools, and tucumã nut figures in their necklaces are at
times very artistic. Painting is restricted mainly to masks and pottery
ornamentation.

**Music.**—During feasts, the *Tucuna* sing in a falsetto voice so low that
533 it can hardly be heard. Three important instruments are: (1) a wooden,
534 tubular megaphone into which they speak and sing and which is 22 feet
(6¼ m.) long with an opening 5 inches (12 cm.) wide and a mouthpiece
2 inches (5 cm.) long; (2) a conical trumpet 13 feet to 19½ feet (4 to
6 m.) long made of a strip of bark wound spirally; and (3) a piston
whistle made of liãna bark. The last is always sounded before the other
[177] two. In any ceremony there is always a faithful imitation of the European
drum and a *Thevetia*-shell rattle, the latter taking the place of the conventional
maracá, which is unknown. The old form of drum was possibly
the shell of a chelonium, which now is used only in one ceremonial. There
are also panpipes, bone flutes, and bamboo horns.

**Adult games.**—In shuttlecock, a maize-husk ball is batted into the air
526 with the palm of the hand by men standing in a ring. In a tug-of-war
in which a thick liana is used, one team of men competes against another.
A ring-and-pin game is played by two men facing each other. Grown
[524] girls make cats cradles with threads wrapped around the fingers, toes, and
head.

273 **Beverages.**—Women make alcoholic beverages from maize, cooked
bitter manioc, and half-burned cakes (beijú) of manioc; the last was
[177] [733] adopted from the Neo-Brazilians. Today many men are addicted to rum.

## SHAMANISM

754 Even today many Indians possess magic powers to help or harm others.
756 These powers come from intercourse with the spirits of certain trees with
which an old shaman puts his disciple in contact. The neophyte shaman
receives a magic substance which contains invisible thorns. He throws
these into his victim's body, where they reproduce and cause his death
[755] unless another shaman sucks them out and completes the cure by applying
herbs. The shaman chews tobacco (formerly, he used a tubular wooden
pipe with an opening on the side for the mouth) to become possessed of
the spirit which supplied the magic pathogenic substance to the witch
[276] doctor. Chewing tobacco identifies the evil shaman.

753 Children fall ill when the spirits of the trees kidnap their souls. Epidemics
come from the sun and are spread by the wind.

When the *Tucuna* are convinced that a shaman is responsible for one or
683 more deaths, their revenge even reaches his relatives. In 1942, three
672 *Tucuna* killed a much-feared shaman and his two sons. The avengers

The avengers

undergo a ceremony performed by some competent shaman, who seeks 683
mainly to protect them from the soul of the murdered witch. [751]

### RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

**The upper world.**—The upper world, which is much lower than the 772
stars, is divided into two parts. One is inhabited by men, who are like
Indians, but live under very different conditions. The other is the resi- [776]
dence of the goddess Taé (Our Mother) and of the souls of the deceased
(naáe) who have been righteous. On their way to the upper world, souls 775
must pass through a sort of gate made of two wooden posts which move back and forth in opposite directions and exclude the souls of incestuous persons, infanticides, murderers, and evil sorcerers. If, however, an evil soul reaches the residence of Taé, she releases two fantastically shaped monsters which demolish it, or else she throws it back to earth, where it becomes a small frog and eventually dies. Taé orders her monsters to purify the souls of occasional sinners by licking them from head to feet. An infanticide's soul has to appear before Taé with the body of the child across his mouth and eat it as a pap.

Taé is not all-powerful, and makes some careless mistakes. She is not 776
the creator and has no connection with the two culture heroes, who equal her in importance, nor with demons, tree spirits, priests, or shamans. But the *Tucuna* greatly respect her because of her close connection with the punishment of sin, both during and after life, and her role as mistress of [774]
that part of the soul called naáẽ (thought, sense).

The other part of the human soul (natcii) is manifest after death as the 775
"shadow of the deceased." It haunts old house sites and takes a human shape at night but at dawn is transformed into some small animal. It is somewhat feared because of its desire to suck one's blood and eat one's flesh and bones, leaving only the empty skin. Brave and smart people, however, easily fool it.

**The lower world.**—The oldest beings in the world are the demons of 772
the underworlds (naáe); some are grouped in many clans, and others 776
are unaffiliated. Though mortal, many are superior to or are very dan-
gerous to men. Their appearance, represented in certain masks, is usually [532]
strange and horrible, though they sometimes assume human shape. Most of them live in different kinds of underground and subaquatic regions (nápi), which are entered through caves. Certain nápi are inhabited by anthropomorphic beings with strange defects, such as blind men, dwarfs, and men without anuses.

The most important subaquatic demons are the dyévae, who have the 776
shape of gigantic silurides or ophidians. One, the master of fishes, shows 821
itself in the eastern rainbow. Another, the master of potter's clay, appears [825]

776 as the western rainbow. Some cause the dangerous whirlpools of the [821] Solimões River, but can be calmed by the priests.

[823] [793] [773] **The culture heroes.**—The most outstanding character in *Tucuna* religion is Dyaí, the culture hero, who made people, established all tribal laws and customs, and gave mankind the most important elements of material culture. He was the demons' most feared enemy. At times harsh and cruel, he is never deceitful. Even toward his brother, Epi, an intruder and shameless liar, he is indulgent and kindly, mocking him and punishing him only occasionally. The *Tucuna* avoid using the name Dyaí and call him Tânáti (Our Father), Baiá, or Búi. Sometimes Dyaí is called Téginènapií-va-ya (the one of the right knee), and Epi is called, Tavenapii-va-ya (the one of the left knee).

773 A long myth cycle recounts the origin of Dyaí and Epi and their deeds. Dyaí, with a blowgun in his hand, and his sister Mavâca, with a net pouch, were born from the right knee of Nutapa; Epi, with a spear, and his sister Aikine, with a carrying basket, were born from the left knee of Nutapa, who was later killed by a jaguar. The brothers avenged his death and resurrected him. Afterward, Dyaí acquired daylight, sleep, fire, and cultivated plants, and saved Epi from a series of difficulties into which he had thrown himself. The brothers were joined by Teci-ari-nuí, daughter of Aikine, whom Epi had seduced. Dyaí punished the seducer by compelling him to grate himself when he grated the genipa for painting the son of Teci-ari-nuí. After he again took a human shape, the two companions created men from fish caught with a hook. Finally, they separated, Dyaí going east and Epi west.

773 776 On the bank of the upper Igarapé Preto de São Geronymo the *Tucuna* showed the former site of Taivegine, Dyaí's house; Epi's house, called Déi, is somewhat downstream. There Epi's son, Teku-kirá, lives today with many other immortals (iine, or má/gita), the men whom Dyaí and Epi fished out of the water. At night during the full moon one can hear them feasting but no one dares approach for fear of becoming insane. Some mortals (dyunati) have become immortal by taking a drink offered by the iine, whereupon they accompany the immortals to their residence.

773 The *Tucuna* have a legend of a world conflagration and a subsequent deluge.

821 The eclipses of the moon are caused by the struggle of a star with a heavenly demon of the Jaguar clan.

668 781 [787] [881] **Messianism.**—The *Tucuna* messianic movement springs from a consciousness of having offended Dyaí, the culture hero, by corrupting their ancient spiritual (not material) culture under the influence of the civilized people, and from a fear that the cataclysms of former times will be repeated. It also involves the tendency of immortals to appear during a person's puberty. In repeated visions, a pubescent man or woman in seclusion sees and talks with the immortals (má/gita), who sometimes may

carry his soul (naáe) to their abode and keep it there for a time. The 668 781
immortals foretell an imminent cataclysm, which threatens to destroy [787]
civilized people, and instruct the Indians to save themselves by gathering [881]
at a sheltered place and performing certain ceremonies. As soon as the [648]
Indians assemble, the civilized people quash the movement, fearing a
threat to their interests. This happened in 1941, when the *Tucuna* met in
Taivegine, following the visionary instruction of a 13-year old boy named
Naráne.

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